

# THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW

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## THE PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND ANGLO-CATHOLICISM

**I**N their deepest significance, the philosophy and theology of the Oxford Movement and of Anglo-Catholicism cannot be limited to the immediate issues and aims of those movements: they are part of the heritage of the Church universal. The vision of spiritual truth which is the source of any vital movement in the Church must, in course of time, illumine the path of all who tread the Christian road. For, in its final meaning, theology is far beyond the range of those who throw stones at the doctors who differ; Divine science is not the field of the sectarian: it is the common ground of Christendom.

In his little classic history of the original Oxford Movement, Dean Church sketches the characters with insight and precision: the vast industry and learning of Pusey; the awkward tenacity of Marriott; Hurrell Froude's brilliant intellect and unflinching judgement; the depth and earnestness of an old-fashioned High Churchman in Isaac Williams; Keble's utter unselfishness and his transparent and saintly simplicity; but it is John Henry Newman who stands out as the supreme figure among them all. Without Newman's four o'clock sermons at St. Mary's the movement might never have gone on, certainly it would never have been what it was. The force of genius, lofty character, and a statesman's eye, imposed on him the responsibility of leadership at the very outset of the Tractarian Campaign in 1833.

Fifty years later, the work of another Oxford group of thinkers gave a new impulse to the movement, and in the essays entitled *Lux Mundi*, published in 1889, Charles Gore

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and his colleagues, Edward Talbot, J. R. Illingworth, Scott Holland and Aubrey Moore, among others, set forth in a symposium the doctrines of the Catholic Revival. Half a century later still came the publication of *Essays, Catholic and Critical*, which represents the most weighty and considered statement of the philosophical position of Anglo-Catholicism, and reveals in rather striking fashion how the modern Catholic mind can assimilate the scientific and critical spirit. There are thus three landmarks in the history of the Oxford Movement and its successors. It is Newman who gives us the key to the philosophy and theology of the first group, and his work illumines the whole movement.

Two of the most profound studies of Newman have come to us from French Catholics: Henri Brémond's *Newman: Essai de biographie psychologique*, published in 1906, and (Emeritus) Professor Jean Guitton's *La Philosophie de Newman, Essai sur l'idée de développement*, published this year (1933). Yet another excellent introduction to the thought of Newman is the Abbé Dimnet's *La Pensée catholique dans l'Angleterre contemporaine* (Paris, 1905).<sup>1</sup> Newman was of Huguenot descent on his mother's side, and he had a natural affinity for continental modes of thought; and, although the Roman Church never understood him, the study of Newman has never lost its fascination for her scholars.

It may easily be argued that Newman was not a philosopher, as M. Guitton points out, on the ground that he wrote in a style likely to disconcert the learned, without the systematic presentation of his thought which philosophy demands. Yet it is one of the charms of Newman that he presents us with surprises and contradictions in his style. He is a Churchman, absorbed in the pursuit of the holy life, rigid, absent-minded, remote; yet he gives us two romances and a collection

<sup>1</sup> An English translation of Brémond's book appeared in 1907, under the title *The Mystery of Newman* (tr. Corrance), with an introduction by G. Tyrrell. The two other works mentioned are not yet available in English.



of poems, and his most popular work is a lyrical drama, set to music by our greatest English composer. He is a preacher who always aims at convincing us, but he writes as a poet and a musician, in a style that is touched with the plainness, nobleness and rapidity of the classics, and at the same time with the captivating cadences of his favourite violin. It is not without reason that Blanco White called Newman the Plato of Oxford.

Yet philosophy had never more than a subordinate place in the thought of Newman. For the first thirty years of his life he had the old Puritan distrust of speculative thought, and philosophy was in his eyes the wisdom of the world. He remarked that in Scripture reason signified the reasoning of worldlings on the objects of religion; a judgement that is almost as near the truth to-day as when it was written. Newman would have regarded with great suspicion Edward Caird's *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*. He praised St. Athanasius and St. Basil for the independence with which they spoke of the Greek philosophers; in truth, he argued, Christianity had an original philosophy of its own, which owed nothing to the ancients. Besides, had not this learned philosophy of the Greeks been one of the sources of heresy? Was not Aristotle the master of the Arians, and Plato of the Semi-Arians? Newman had a curious pride in the fact that he was ignorant of systematic philosophy. In 1884, he told W. S. Lilly that he had not read a line of Kant, nor a work of Coleridge.<sup>1</sup> James Anthony Froude remarked that the whole history of the Oxford Movement, if not that of the English Church, would have been different if Newman had known German. This is nonsense. Newman absorbed much of the Kantian teaching through Blanco White, and his ethical approach to religious faith has points of contact with the Categorical Imperative of Kant. But, as Richard Hutton said, it was revealed religion, and no mere philosophy of religion, which absorbed Newman's attention from his earliest youth to his latest age.

<sup>1</sup> Here Newman's memory was at fault. See p. 437.

For the understanding of Newman it is necessary to remember that he was rooted in the eighteenth century, yet he became a symbol of the ideas of the nineteenth century. He was born in 1801, in a country that knew nothing of the horrors of the French Revolution; he grew up in the atmosphere of Trinity and Oriel, more concerned with the sources of the Prayer Book and with the origins of Christian tradition than with the tumult of doctrines that shattered Europe. The Oxford Colleges opened on their lawns and gardens; the doctors of divinity rested securely in their ancient certitudes; and we might say that until 1830 Oxford slept, and it was no other than Newman who awakened it.<sup>1</sup>

The spirit of England, in the eighteenth century at least, was the spirit of compromise, and the religious thought of the early nineteenth century was marked by several forms of vicious liberalism. It was a conviction with some, and an amiable and vague notion with many, that education, civilization and reason would bring the millennium to mankind, and that religion was equivalent to superstition. Meanwhile, in religious circles, a horror of dogmatism, a sense of tolerance, and the spirit of religious freedom inherited from the Reformation, all combined with the English temperament to make for the freest discussion of theology and religion. In contemporary France, there was no room for compromise, and no attempt was made to harmonize irreconcilables. Between the Roman Church and the Encyclopædists there was no middle term, and deism rapidly became atheism. It was necessary to choose between Pascal and Voltaire, for the middle way was impossible. Newman paid great attention to the Church in France, and it was this crisis which he faced for himself in the years 1840-1845, and which he precipitated in English thought.

As in politics and economics, in science and philosophy, so in literature and theology, the calm of the eighteenth century concealed the activity of explosive forces. The

<sup>1</sup> See Guitton, *op. cit.* introd. pp. xvi-xvii.

spirit of inquiry in physical science, the empirical method in philosophy, and the dynamic quality of evangelical Methodism all contributed to the inevitability of the crisis. There were also two points at which the Romantic Revolt in literature had a direct connexion with the Oxford Movement. Newman recognizes in his *Apologia* and in the *Essays* his debt to Scott, Coleridge, Southey and Wordsworth; but it was not their perception of God in nature, nor their reverence for man as man which appealed to him; it was their reverence for medievalism and antiquity, their sense of the supernatural, and their cultivation of the capacity for wonder and awe. The second point of contact was in the work of Coleridge, who, in the *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit* (1840), abandoned the theory of verbal inspiration, and became one of the pioneers of living Biblical criticism; and, in the *Aids to Reflection*, adapted the terminology of Kant to the defence of Anglican orthodoxy, and led the way, in perhaps violent and arbitrary fashion,—rejecting the evidences of Paley ('Evidences,' he said, 'I am weary of the word.')

—towards a spiritual discernment of spiritual truth, and a faith in an immanent God.<sup>1</sup> It is probably this which Newman had in mind when he wrote, in a letter to Ward,<sup>2</sup> that he had been reading the works of Coleridge, and had been surprised to discover in this author certain ideas of which he believed he himself (Newman) was the source. The Methodist Revival, the Romantic Revolt and the Oxford Movement represent successive aspects of that spiritual movement which altered the face of Europe and freed the spirit of man for a new stage in its pilgrimage towards a new heaven and a new earth.

The only way to describe accurately the philosophy of Newman, as Brémond says, is to tell the story of his inner life. That is impossible here. Three only of the many aspects

<sup>1</sup> See Muirhead, J. H., *Coleridge as Philosopher*, for a new estimate of Coleridge's philosophical writings. Cf. also Herford, C. H., *The Age of Wordsworth*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, Wilfrid, *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, vol. i, p. 58.

of his philosophy are briefly to be indicated: his doctrine of the Church; his psychology of assent; and his idea of development. It was the first of these which led him to Rome, and, while Newman turned his back upon the Church of England as a logical consequence of his doctrine of the Church, it will be argued that his theology and philosophy both point in another direction.

I.—DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH.—Newman owed to Richard Hooker his first concept of the Church of England as holding a middle position between the errors of the Calvinists on the one hand and of the Romanists on the other; and as having its basis in human reason discovering the laws of God, in the social needs of human nature, and in the revelation which has illumined the places that were dark to the mind of man. In the *University Sermons*, the grasp and largeness of this view reveal the philosophic temper, and Newman follows Butler in tracing the characteristic lineaments of the Gospel Dispensation into the visible course of things, and finding their roots in nature and society. Butler taught him that the sacramental system of revealed religion is the key to natural religion, and that, as the Romantic poets also tell us, we must look at material phenomena as the vehicles of spiritual influences. Newman says himself that he desired to be a second Butler, seeking to render Christian belief acceptable to the spirit of his time.

One condition limited him which Butler had not known. The national Church was united to the State, but Froude summed up the relationship in a biting phrase when he said 'united—as Israel to Egypt.' Before dreaming of reconciling the Church to the century, Newman consecrated himself to a preliminary task; that of purifying and fortifying the Church in which he was born, and from which he had received his faith. He found the Church languishing; it was absorbed in the civil power; the bishops and priests did not regard themselves as successors of the apostles, but as functionaries

of the government. Newman laboured then, with his friends, to restore the Church of England to its true health and power: that was the Tractarian campaign: that was the Oxford Movement. Newman had a fine scorn of Erastianism, or the doctrine more correctly ascribed to Hobbes, which relates Church to State and makes the State the final authority in matters of belief. He had a similar scorn for the type of safe man such a church would want: 'sensible, temperate, sober, well-judging persons, to guide it through the channel of no-meaning between the Scylla and Charybdis of "Aye" and "No."' Before converting the world to his faith, and before converting the clergymen to faith in their mission, Newman deemed it necessary to verify by history the apostolic foundations of the Church of England, and its consequent legitimacy. He put to himself the question: what is the form of Christianity which is most faithful to primitive Christian practice and to the thought of Jesus? Is there a Kingdom of God visible on the earth? One of the strangest things in Newman's life is the fact that he found his answer, not in the first century, but in the fourth, and, after fifteen years' reflection on these questions, was received into the Church of Rome. His account of his experience is also a doctrine of the Church and a *Discourse on Method*.

M. Guitton points out that there are certain affinities between Newman and Augustine; but the differences are more vital than the similarities. There is a sense in which Augustine was the father of the Reformation, and certainly he was not the father of neo-Catholicism. The works of the two men present an interesting parallel. *The Grammar of Assent* echoes the *De Utilitate Credendi*; the *Development* essay suggests the *De Vera Religione* and the *De Civitate Dei*; above all, the *Apologia* inevitably recalls the *Confessions*. Augustine and Newman both perceived what Descartes, to his loss, never knew, that there is a coincidence between our personal history and universal history, and that Christianity alone gives the key to these two worlds, the inner



world of individual experience and the outer world of historical events. The kingdom of those whose minds have been nourished and whose characters have been moulded by the spirit of Jesus constitutes the City of God and the Catholic Church.

So far Newman could proceed and remain a Protestant, but his mind could not rest even in Augustine's doctrine of grace, neglected, as it had been for a thousand years until the Reformation; his quest led him towards Augustine's doctrine of the Church, with its imperial legacy of the grandeur that was Rome. He arrived at a concept of the Church as a complete, permanent, ordered society, 'energizing through ten thousand instruments of power and influence,' the government of which was entrusted to the apostles and their successors, with a Divine commission to teach and define through the rulers of the Church, and primarily the Pope, with coercive jurisdiction,<sup>1</sup> and with the power of orders: that is, the power to impart a spiritual consecration unique and supernatural, under circumstances partly conditioned by the original institution of our Lord, and partly by the enactments of the Church. This concept is nothing less than a recapitulation of the claims of Rome; and if this concept be true then the Church of Rome is alone the oracle of God, and worldwide Christendom, (far beyond the borders of the Latin countries and the Latin Church) with all its enrichment of literature and life, its prophets and heroes, its saints and martyrs, can only offer 'chilliness, and barrenness, and perpetual desolation.'<sup>2</sup> This is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the Catholic position. By accepting this doctrine, Newman secured, as he desired, the absolute independence of the Church from the State, and he found refuge from the perils of intellectual inquiry under the wings of the Roman eagle, but it was at the price of his allegiance to the Church of his birth.

<sup>1</sup> 'It is perfectly true that the Church does not allow her children to entertain any doubt of her teaching.' *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p. 283. *No logical alternative between Catholicism and Scepticism.*

II.—THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ASSENT.—It is one of the strange ironies of Newman's life that he entered the Roman Church for reasons that the Catholics could never understand, and he left to the world a philosophy which produced as many agnostics as converts to Rome. His psychology of assent, as Brémond shows unerringly, makes religious belief an absolutely individual achievement. *The Grammar of Assent* has for its end and purpose the demonstration that the moral consciousness is the sole means of arriving at the knowledge of religious truth. Conscience is the creative principle of religion, as the Moral Sense is the principle of ethics.<sup>1</sup> Here also Newman reveals his indebtedness to Butler, who may justly be regarded as a predecessor of Kant. Butler was the first to oppose to the arguments of sceptics the reality of conscience, and to take his stand upon it as a ground for belief in God. The *Grammar of Assent* is one long definition of the *illative sense*, but this unscientific reason or intuitive perception or natural sagacity resolves itself finally into the moral consciousness in its quest of religious truth. Yet it cannot be said that Newman's psychology of faith is that of either Butler or Kant. His religious experience is much more subtle and comprehensive than theirs, and cannot be included in any definition, even his own. He had a sensitiveness and a sense of dependence which recall Schleiermacher, an insistence on will which makes him akin to William James, and a vision of the universe very similar to that of Plato or Berkeley, but he belonged to no school, and he founded no school; he went his own way. His central psychological doctrine is that the whole personality acts in judging and is concerned in assent. Instead of saying, with Butler, 'there is in me a sense of moral obligation, implying a law, a law-giver, a God'; Newman says, 'with all the faculties and capacities which constitute my personal nature, I believe there is a God.'<sup>2</sup> As Professor Alexander said recently, in speaking of Spinoza,

<sup>1</sup> *Grammar of Assent*, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Caldecott, A., *The Philosophy of Religion*, pp. 7, 81.

'the great fundamental notions of philosophers are not proved; their truth is seen.' Belief is not an inference: it is an assent.

Newman thus ranges himself with the Personalists, but he avoids many of the pitfalls of that school, and he would have enjoyed the irony of Eucken's reminder that we do not become personalities by pronouncing the word with unction and emphasis. Newman's doctrine of personal intuition is not aesthetic, like that of Croce; it is more akin to the vitalism of Bergson, but he would have definitely rejected the distinction made in Bergson's latest work between a necessitated and a creative morality.<sup>1</sup> In the last resort, Newman narrows the psychological basis of faith to the almost exclusively moral; and, while he does not relate the act of faith to the whole field of moral values after the manner of Sorley, or morality to the great central themes of the historical religions as in A. E. Taylor's *Faith of a Moralist*, yet his moral approach to theism has something of the mystical quality of Solovyov's *Justification of the Good*, and is worthy of comparison with the classics of ethical philosophy. From the purely philosophical side, Newman is with the pragmatists and personal idealists, and his psychology of assent is individual to such a degree that it would logically almost exclude the type of mind that is able to embrace Roman Catholic orthodoxy.

III.—THE IDEA OF DEVELOPMENT.—Newman has been claimed as a forerunner of Darwin, in so far as his theory of the development of doctrine is supported by illustrations from biology, and is certainly a theory of progressive evolution. It is necessary to distinguish Newman's idea of development from certain other contemporary philosophies of change. The nineteenth century suffered from the absence of a regulative philosophy which might guide the new sciences, biological and historical, and which would apply to the rapidly changing world. It seems as though the troubles, political and national,

<sup>1</sup> *Les deux Sources de la Morale et de la Religion*, Paris, 1932.

especially in France, had hindered thought from developing, and had turned it towards political and social works, or towards the concept of a mechanical universe. If we except Leibnitz, the philosophers of the eighteenth century had no sense of historical development. With Kant and Schopenhauer and the German romantics, history was treated as a kind of *a priori* system.<sup>1</sup> In the nineteenth century, philosophy was called upon to meet the demand for an explanation of the fact of change, and in the response to this demand Newman must be allowed to share the honours with Spencer and Hegel, as well as with Darwin.

Neither Spencer nor Newman were philosophers by profession. While Newman was absorbed in the study of the Fathers of the Church, Spencer was constructing a bridge at Bromsgrove and experimenting with an electro-magnetic machine which was to replace the steam engine.<sup>2</sup> In his *Development Hypothesis* (1852), Spencer shows how the tendency to regard everything as a product of evolution had become a mental habit with him, and he applied the principle to all domains of thought: psychology, ethics, politics, sociology. The weakness of this theory was that it confounded the process of nature with the principle of explanation: the law of the mind became the law of things. Spencer omits the radical originality of human nature and the transcendence of personal consciousness. It is not merely, as William James remarked, that 'the noise of facts resounds through all his pages,' but his theory of evolution simply describes the progressive manufacture of a universal machine.

The attempt of Hegel to produce a dynamic interpretation of history is even more audacious and interesting. He believed that it was possible to explain change and time and thought by the same law. History is nothing but the logic of idea; it is the realization of the Absolute Spirit in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Renouvier, *Philosophie analytique de l'histoire*, pp. 133-4. See also Guittou, *op. cit.* pp. 137 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Duncan, David, *Life and Letters of Spencer*.

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time through the evolution of the Absolute Idea; it can be conceived on the analogy of revelation; in truth, it is the revelation itself. By means of this concept, Hegel, as Renan said, had substituted the category of becoming for that of being, and of movement for immobility. Spencer and Hegel had both propounded a philosophy of change, one of a type chiefly mechanical, the other of a type mainly logical.

Newman began, as Hegel began, with a religious experience of the Protestant evangelical type, and he also attempted to relate his faith to his interpretation of history, both in the *Via Media* and in the *Essay on Development*. But he avoided the continental tendency to construct a vast and all-inclusive system; he remained an Englishman in this piece of work more than in any other; he guarded his instinct for facts, his confidence in personal experience, his profound respect for the empirical method. For logic and mechanics he had no real affection; he preferred to explore the depths of his own consciousness, and to range over the fields of history and theology in the light of what he found there.

Spencer's theory of evolution, which dominated also Huxley and Leslie Stephen, was an amalgam of logic and sociology, moulded into a mechanical model; Hegel's philosophy of becoming was an amalgam of logic and theology; Newman saw clearly that neither mechanism nor logic could provide categories adequate to the interpretation of life. He saw that if we are to understand history, and, above all, the history of Christianity, it is essential to study first of all, not the mechanical laws of physical change, nor the laws of logical and intellectual development, but the actual life of the individual developing within the moral order. There, and there alone, we are in the presence of a change which preserves all it touches. Amid all the crises, the moral life can be envisaged as an interior progress which endures, and constitutes the reality of life.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Merz, J. T., *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. ii, p. 279, for a comparison of Spencer and Hegel; and see Guitton, op. cit. pp. 136-145, for a brilliant discussion of the whole subject.



Applied to the development of doctrine, this is a perfectly intelligible principle, and it was certainly in Newman's day a *Novum Organum*, a new method by which theology was treated scientifically and organically, as the progressive unfolding of the principle of life which was contained in the original revelation. Each doctrinal statement results in a fuller apprehension of the permanence and identity of the revealed truth. 'Old principles reappear in new forms. To live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often.'<sup>1</sup> This idea of development, as propounded by Newman, was an inspired anticipation in the realm of theology of the doctrines of Darwin in the sphere of biology; and it is claimed in our own day by Professor Eddington, as being applicable to physical science. 'In each revolution of scientific thought,' he says, 'new words are set to old music, and that which has gone before is not destroyed but refocussed. Amid all our faulty attempts at expression, the kernel of scientific truth steadily grows; and of this truth it may be said—the more it changes, the more it remains the same thing.'<sup>2</sup>

It was this side of Newman's teaching which made him, in some sense, the father of Modernism; and it is not surprising that, when his cloistered and obedient spirit had submitted to the authority of Rome, he virtually recanted, and condemned the temper of mind which his influence had done so much to produce.<sup>3</sup> He saw clearly enough the forces which led Renan, two days after he himself was received into the Roman Church in the village of Littlemore, to walk down the steps of the College of Saint Sulpice, and leave the Catholic Church for ever. He foresaw the tendencies which resulted in Tyrrell being deprived of the sacraments in 1907, and Loisy being excommunicated in 1908.

How, with his love of truth, and his passionate sincerity, Newman could leave his colleagues and his spiritual home in

<sup>1</sup> *Essay on Development*, part i, chapter i, section i (ed. 1878, p. 40).

<sup>2</sup> *The Nature of the Physical World*, p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> *A Form of Infidelity of the Day* (1854) *Idea of Univ.* 381–404.

the Anglican Church, to enter a communion which was incapable of tolerating the ideas which were of the very fibre of his thinking, is a problem to tease us out of thought. We may, at least, venture to say that he never lost his fear that his reason might be the enemy of his faith; and that he represents the spirit of English empiricism striving to justify itself where empirical methods fail. We shall always have the Latin and the Teutonic types of mind: the type that finds its rest in authority, and the type that craves for freedom: the Catholic and the Protestant. Newman inherited both, but after a painful struggle the Latin mind won the day. We owe to him the philosophical vindication of conscience as a potent implicit reason apprehending the mind of God; and the idea of a living and growing theology, vital and dynamic, because rooted in the revelation of the living God. The anguish Newman went through is a call to the Church of the future to reconcile the religion of authority with the religion of the spirit, and in this task, Methodism may possibly prove to be a unique instrument in the hands of God.

SYDNEY G. DIMOND.

(*The Oxford Movement and Anglo-Catholicism* will appear in January.)

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*Adventure in Poplar.* By W. H. Lax. (Epworth Press. 3s. 6d.) This is the third set of Adventures in Poplar, and Mr. Lax seems to have a growing store on which to draw. That fact is the crowning appeal of his book. It is in living touch with the people and in the East End that means daily appeals for aid in waging a stern battle. The characters in this book are real men, women and children who are or have been personal friends to Mr. Lax. Mr. Ensor Walters says that Lax of Poplar is to him a source of perpetual pleasure and delight. So is he to us all, and Poplar, which has had him as its apostle for thirty-two years, long since gave him its heart. The secret lies in these pages. They are all alive with sympathy and with heroic service. Fancy being called at midnight to rescue a drunkard who was lying on the rails to end his miserable existence. His dog guided the rescuer to the scene and then savagely attacked Mr. Lax as he leaned over the prostrate figure. Barney Graham lived to make good, and when Mr. Lax buried him it was a real coronation. Every story in this book has its thrill and makes us beg that No. 4 may not be too long in coming.

## EDWARD BURNE JONES (1833-1898):

ON the whole we can accept the platitude that a nation gets the politicians it deserves, though sometimes as one glances round a doubt arises if any nation could possibly be as undeserving as that. But I am quite sure that the artist never gets the nation he deserves, not even in the age of the Medicis, that period of wealth and taste, when the artist selected his patrons and Demos felt himself honoured if the choice fell upon him. Still, despite the jest the painters flung at Plato, with his ignominious dismissal of the artist from his social order in the Republic, or the flagwagging of an excited populace when Cimabue's Madonna made its appearance in the streets of Florence, art was even then a penurious enough livelihood to satisfy Mr. Clive Bell. One did not need to be a social renegade like Cellini to find the brokers at the door, and Giotto's remuneration for the Assisi frescoes would to-day incite the union of paperhangers to a strike. Still it was an honoured vocation and one cannot conceive of the fifteenth century echoing the sentiment of Major Pendennis who would as soon have seen his son a pastry cook or a hairdresser as a painter.

This is merely a prelude to saying that the second half of the nineteenth century deserved little and received much. It was the least artistic period of an inartistic nation, in which the heritage of taste it had inherited from the Georgians had degenerated into a preference for Frith and frippery, and an overweening pride in its commercial supremacy had effectually suffocated any remaining aesthetic sensibility. Into such a world of shoddy ideas Edward Burne Jones was born a hundred years ago, finding his pilgrimage shared by Rossetti, Madox Brown, Alfred Stevens, Millais and William Morris, men whose chivalrous battles for England's green and pleasant land were more real if less sanguinary than those of the knights they painted. It was due to their genius that a magic

gleam of romance fell upon the age of commerce, and behind the grimy portals of Throgmorton Street offices wistful longings for the gates of Arcady were felt and strange fantastic shapes danced their way across the dull figures of ponderous ledgers.

More perhaps than any other nineteenth-century painter, with the exception of William Blake, Burne Jones challenged the dull prosaic world of actual fact. It was not simply that he was repelled by the ugliness of his early surroundings, though Birmingham in the fifties was not remarkable for any stimulus to the aesthetic emotions. Even now, after years of unsurpassed municipal government, it can hardly claim to be an earthly paradise, and in those days its ill-begotten maze of begrimed streets would produce a painful impression on the spirit of a youth who worshipped at the shrine of my lady Beauty. But whatever the character of his environment he would still have turned from it in obedience to a deeper impulse of his being, an impulse which grew out of his essentially romantic nature, so that his ideas find their natural expression in the world of legend and classic myth. This tendency was strongly encouraged by the companionship of Rossetti and William Morris. Rossetti might counsel him to preserve inviolate his distinctively personal character in painting, but his influence was stronger than his counsel and his personality was so dominating that Burne Jones found himself only desiring to think as Rossetti thought and all his life he wondered what would be his verdict upon his work. For the subject of the first picture he received a commission to paint there is the Rossetti hero worship. 'I have chosen the Blessed Damosel for my year's work' and the purely imaginative quality of his mind can be judged by his conception of it. 'I shall make a man walking in the street of a great city, full of all kinds of happy life: children such as he will never have, and lovers walking and ladies leaning from windows all down a great length of street leading to the city walls: and there the gates are wide open letting in a

space of green field and cornfield in harvest and all round his head a great rain of swirling Autumn leaves blowing from a little walled graveyard.' This reveals how easily and naturally his mind found its expression in a romantic setting and a closer examination will reveal the somewhat derivative character of the imagery. But they lived in an atmosphere of romance and Red Lion Square was metamorphosed by their infectious laughter and gay boisterous friendship into an ante-room of King Arthur's court. So through his life this romantic vesture clung about him and Merlin and Vivian, the Briar Rose, Venus, Peleus, Pan and Psyche, Sir Galahad and a host of others reveal how the spirit of romance had entered into the texture of his mind and chiselled out his creative genius.

To suggest in face of this that Burne Jones is not a great imaginative painter will seem surprising. Yet any penetrating examination of his work will reveal a lack of the supreme creative quality of mind such as we find in any great work of the imagination. He was largely dependent upon a literary stimulus and his mind is essentially the mind of an illustrator. When he tells us that 'I need nothing but my hands and my brain to fashion for myself a world to live in that nothing can disturb' we are not to assume that his brain needed nothing to exercise its powers of attention upon, or to ignore the many and varying strands that have been woven into the texture of his mind. In truth he was the most literary artist of his time and his work is an eloquent indication of the way that Greek legends, Chaucer, the Earthly Paradise, Bible Stories, were made to supply the needs of a mind that was essentially derivative. In his approach to Nature he is an intense realist, though this need in no way conflict with the exercise of the imagination, since the truth was probably expressed by Blake that before one can copy the imagination, it is necessary to copy Nature. But his romantic temperament combined with an ineradicable bent towards description is always imposing itself upon his vision and constantly lumbers up his finest



conceptions with a lot of unnecessary trappings. Rarely are we confronted with the sheer bare penetrating power of the imagination that we are made dumb by its irresistible appeal. For there is an inevitability about the imagination in its purest exercise which compels us to realize the artist's mind in the vision of our own. This is perhaps the soundest part of Croce's 'aesthetic' and is the only justification for the claim that 'art is intuition.' A sense of finality is stamped upon every great work of the imagination and all we can say is with Dürer 'It cannot be better done.' But we do not encounter this in Burne Jones as we encounter it in Tintoretto or Rembrandt, or if these are obviously unfair comparisons, in Blake or Rossetti. Compare the swift invulnerable power of Blake's drawing of the 'Creation' with any of the 'Pygmalion' panels and you will understand the contrast between the creative power of the imagination and a rather commonplace exercise of the romantic temperament. Before the work of every great imaginative artist we are held captive by the intense power of their vision and in apprehending their vision we must in the language of the great mystics 'see as they see.' I will say this is the supreme test and it is a test which Burne Jones will not pass.

It is a popular fallacy to assume that the imagination plays a greater part in romantic than in classic art. Yet the reverse is true. For classic art can tolerate no redundancies, no vagueness, or unmeaning intricacies of representation. But it is there that the classic art is identified with the imagination, for it is vision, not logic, which rids us of the superfluous and the imagination is the primary agent in simplification. But in Burne Jones there was always a conflict between the search for the classic purity of line and the romantic desire for a number of inconsequential details which shall indicate varying emotions. We may take one of his finest works, 'Love among the Ruins' as an example. Here you have a beautifully composed group which is peculiarly satisfying in its pictorial quality. The lovers have a strange and haunt-

ing appeal, which tells us that all that the world knows of love lies enfolded in their embrace. But it has been decided that it must be called 'Love among the Ruins' and so a whole rag bag of irrelevant details, briar roses and broken pillars are bespattered on a canvas of arresting design. Nowhere do they achieve any dramatic unity with the rest of the picture, nor even effect a romantic elaboration of the idea. All they do is to mar the aesthetic appeal and create a spirit of restlessness in a composition where above everything else repose is demanded.

At one other point does this lack of supreme imaginative power reveal itself, and that point is seen in his treatment of the face. It is not a question of the same face doing duty for all types of character, and seeing the same features in the angels of creation, the figures of Temperance or Hope, for we all discover in a tramcar that there is a monotonous similarity about faces. But in romantic art the face becomes of sovereign importance since emotional expression is its primary aim, and the focus of interest passes from movement and design to expressiveness in the face. But the face in Burne Jones is too often lacking in vitality and is no longer a mask on which can be depicted the conflicts of the spirit. Rossetti and his circle understood this perhaps better than they understood anything else, and they can portray with a poignant intensity the conflict of emotions and the tragedy that so far has only revealed itself within the spirit. There is no violence of gesture in Hunt's Claudio, yet I doubt if elsewhere, not even in Poussin or Delacroix will you get a more devastating sense of fear. This pioneer of an intense concentration of the dramatic moment of the picture in the face is found in all romantic art, but pre-eminently in Pre-Raphaelite art, so that it is the more remarkable that it should be absent in the work of Burne Jones. There is a lack of vitality and of spiritual energy in nearly all his figures, which contrasts somewhat painfully with his mastery of line and colour. It is the danger that is always associated with a lyrical mood in painting, which purposely puts on one side

the dramatic clash of sternly opposing forces. It is content that time shall enfold us in quietness and strange untrodden ways shall lure us with their subtle beauty or their gentle melancholy. It needs a consummate mastery of all the painter's technique to save it from degenerating into a lifeless sentimentality and there are moments in the work of Burne Jones when we feel he has not escaped from the snare.

Yet despite criticisms such as these Burne Jones remains one of the conspicuous figures of nineteenth-century art. No one of his contemporaries has equalled him as a master of intricate and flowing contour and to surpass the lyrical beauty of his line we should have to turn to the fifteenth-century Florentine. It was this faculty which made him pre-eminent as a designer and it is upon his genius in design that his reputation will finally rest. And this genius is more fully revealed in his cartoons for stained glass than in his paintings, for here his draughtsmanship was unrivalled and tells us the firm grip he has upon all the elements of great design. He will take a small and difficult space, as in the Mary Magdalene window at Rochdale, and fill it with a peculiarly satisfying pattern. His mastery in spacing his figures and preserving that subtle ratio between the main masses of his design is unsurpassed. He can crowd his composition as in the 'Building of the Temple' window at Boston, the 'Crucifixion' and Nativity windows at Birmingham or the famous 'Last Judgement' window at East Hampton and still retain a harmonious unity amidst a fecund variety of symbol. Such designs illustrate the inner power of vitality which unites each part into a harmonious whole. Nor was his decorative genius confined to designs for stained glass alone. Tapestries and book illustrations, interiors and every kind of surface decoration were accepted by him as an opportunity for the exercise of this rich endowment and for forty years he enriched the world with a wealth of ornament that in its sheer loveliness of form and colour has no rival in English art.

ARTHUR B. BATEMAN.

## AN ASPECT OF JEWISH EMANCIPATION IN ENGLAND

**F**OR the student of history and literature, the story of the Jewish political struggle in the nineteenth century is replete with exploits of sustained endeavour, from both within and without the ranks of the Jewish community itself. Ever since their return to England in 1650, after an absence of three and a half centuries,<sup>1</sup> the Jews, as a community, were looked upon as aliens, in the sight of the law, and held liable to all the disabilities which that condition carried with it. They were shut up in a sort of political and social ghetto. They were excluded from holding civil office, restricted in the professions, and debarred from entering Parliament. The necessity of earning a livelihood in the only way left open to them, put them behind the exchange and bargain counter, in which activity they continued as strangers within the gates. At the famous Whitehall Conference (1655), presided over by the Lord Protector himself, an effort was made to admit the Jew into the English fold. To this end, old monkish records, ancient acts of Parliament, dusty court chronicles, &c., were searched for evidence; prophetic scriptures, Hebrew writings, and statutes of the realm were consulted—every available source of information was set before the Conference, to decide whether the Jew could be transformed into an Englishman. The final decision was against the Jew, and, as Carlyle observed, 'the Jews could not settle here except by private sufferance of His Highness.' The attitude of the opposition was set forth in the vigorous pamphlet entitled *A Short Demurrer to the Jewes long discontinued Remitter into England*, by

<sup>1</sup> The Jews were expelled from England by Edward I in 1290, and until about 1650 were not permitted to enter the country. In the middle of the seventeenth century, certain Marrano families, fearful of the Spanish Inquisition, sought refuge in London, and it is a matter of conjecture whether the Government knew them to be Jews.

William Prynne, who protested against the admission of the 'stiff-necked race that rejected the true Messiah and had put the Son of God to a shameful death,' as citizens of the English commonwealth.

A century later (1753), another futile effort was made to naturalize the Jews in England. It was the feeling of the Prime Minister and his supporters, that the English-born Jew, already deemed competent to hold lands and exercise all such rights of citizenship, might very well be transformed by act of Parliament into a full-fledged Englishman. Surely, after these many years, there would be no objections on the ground of religious differences! But, contrary to the expectations of the Pelham ministry, within a brief six months, the cry was raised—'No Jew, no Wooden Shoes!'—throughout the land, protesting against the 'rich blasphemers and extortioners,' and the Jew Bill of 1753 was quickly repealed. Both press and pulpit assailed the 'alien Jew' and called upon patriotic Englishmen to save the country from the Israelites. One of the potent arguments of the opposition was that the Pelham ministry, by passing the naturalization bill, was attempting to interfere with the prophecy which clearly indicated that the Jews should be wanderers on the face of the earth for ever!

In the early years of the nineteenth century, the movement started in Europe for the conversion and baptism of Jews, found support in England. A clarion call for evangelical work in the British Isles was sounded by the Rev. Dr. John Mackenzie, minister of Portpatrick (1801), in one of his published sermons, and the evangelical work of the Rev. Joseph Wolf among English Jews enlisted the support of the London churches from the start, and was particularly significant because it emphasized, early in the century, a sympathetic interest in the social disabilities of 'the fallen race.'

The rising tide in favour of the extension of religious liberty among English Dissenters generally—and the Roman

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Catholics in particular—helped to bring the conditions prevailing in English Jewry to a closer public inspection. Although the Jews were not regarded in the same light as other dissenters, it was pointed out that

'The frightful series of atrocities, massacres and persecutions to which the Jew had been subjected in the past, from the Conquest downwards, were brought about by the caprice and avarice of the Sovereign and the ignorance and bigotry of the people . . . and it is to be regretted that any impediment should be thrown in the way of the Jew by any local restrictions.'

The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts ('those relics of seventeenth-century bigotry') in 1828, and the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1829, were regarded by the Jews as signal victories for the cause of religious toleration and civic rights. It was hoped that these progressive measures would pave the way for action with regard to the removal of Jewish disabilities. About this time (1828), the news of the persecution of Jewish rabbis by the Russians stimulated a fresh interest in the sufferings of the ancient race, and called forth a denunciation of all such persecutions.

In 1830, a group of liberal statesmen in England, realizing that public sentiment was not altogether unfavourable toward the Jewish communities, felt strongly that Parliament should reconsider the question of Jewish naturalization. The first step was taken by William Huskisson, who presented a petition, signed by two thousand merchants and other citizens of Liverpool, in support of the measure. Within a few weeks, Robert Grant moved in the House of Commons for permission to bring in a Bill for the repeal of civil disabilities affecting British-born subjects professing the Jewish religion. The debate that followed Grant's Bill was made memorable by the fact that Macaulay, in supporting the measure, delivered then his maiden speech in the Commons. The Whigs and Liberals, and those who advocated the Catholic Emancipation Bill, rallied to the support of the Jew Bill, and the Tories and those who professed a zeal for the religion of the country opposed the measure.

The Opposition, on the other hand, persisted in maintaining that England was a Christian country, and that the activities of 27,000 Israelites in business and in politics might bring harm to England's most treasured institutions. For a time, the religious aspect of the problem was emphasized by the Tories, to the exclusion of all other considerations.

Although the Grant Bill was rejected at the second reading by a great majority, and, three years later (1833), passed by the Commons and thrown out by the House of Lords, much progress was made in behalf of the English Jew by the removal of trade restrictions in the City of London (1833), by the election of a Jew as Sheriff (1835),<sup>1</sup> and by the appointment of a Jew as Alderman (1836).

In the same year that Victoria became Queen (1837), the young Jewish politician, Benjamin Disraeli, took his seat in the Commons. Though a member of the Church of England, he worked hard and fought openly in the interests of his people. He demanded civil emancipation for the English Jew on the ground, not of tolerance, but of justice and merit. The very life and property of England, he declared, were protected by the Laws of Sinai. And yet, said he, they persecute and hold up to odium the race to whom the English are indebted for the Psalms they sing on Sundays and for the knowledge of the true God. Whether or not the colourful, and sometimes theatrical, exhibitions of Disraeli in politics were helpful to the Jewish cause, remains a debatable point. But the force of his genius and the courage of his convictions, it must be admitted, added not a little to the general interest of the Jewish Question in England. The subject attracted the attention and support of men like Lord Lyndhurst, who in 1845 proposed the Bill for the admission of Jews to Municipal office, a measure which was

<sup>1</sup> Sir David Salmons was the first Jewish Sheriff of London. The Sheriff's Declaration Act (5 and 6 William IV, c. 28) permitted the Jew to enter upon his office without repeating the oath 'on the True Faith of a Christian.' Vide *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. xix. 330.

passed without a single division. In the following year, the Religious Opinions Relief Bill met with similar success, opening all portals to the Jews—all, except entrance into Parliament.

In order to bring the Parliamentary grievance to an issue, the City of London at the next general election (1847) took the initiative by choosing as one of its representatives in Parliament, Baron Lionel de Rothschild, a London Jew, whose wealth and brilliant social position marked him out as a redoubtable protagonist of the Jewish cause.

'The voice of the city of London acquired a double significance because the city simultaneously placed Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, at the head of the poll. It would, under any circumstances, have been Russell's duty to have dealt with the questions which were raised by Rothschild's election. The need for doing so was doubly urgent when his constituents were partially disenfranchised by Rothschild's exclusion from the House of Commons.' (Spencer Walpole.)

In the short autumn session, therefore, a fresh Bill was introduced to 'remove all disabilities at present affecting Her Majesty's subjects of the Jewish religion, with the like exceptions as are provided for Her Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion,' the Commons passed it by a substantial majority; but the Lords rejected it with quick dispatch. Baron Rothschild was not permitted to take his seat unless he took the oath 'on the Faith of a Christian.' When he was again elected in 1850, and for the second time prevented from taking his seat, there was a shift from the question of faith to that of money-bags:

'The whole and sole claim of the Jew is that some of his party are rich. How they have made their riches, or how they spend them, is beneath us to inquire. The measure must be thrown out by the awakened power of public opinion. . . . The Jew is not to enter a Christian legislature.' (*Blackwood's* LXVIII, 73 ff.)

As the discussion grew warmer and more personal, the Jew was described as an undesirable intruder, who, by being equally a member of all countries, was equally an alien in all—an alien whose only country was the counting house,

whose only city was the 'Change, and whose world consisted in his traffic.

On the other hand, the supporters of the Jewish Emancipation Bill made it their business to fight for the political equality of religious sects. They protested that the exclusion of the Jew was a violation of the most thoroughly established principles of modern English policy. As a taxpayer, capitalist and landowner, it was argued, the Jew had a right to be placed on an equality with other Englishmen.

At the turn of the century a fresh attempt was made to have the question settled by Parliament. The Attorney General submitted (August 1, 1850) two resolutions specially framed to meet the Rothschild case—the first denying the Jew's right to vote or sit in the House of Commons till he had taken the Oath of Abjuration in the form appointed by law; and the second pledging the House to a measure of relief for the Jews next session. At the conclusion of an animated discussion, the two resolutions were carried (August 5). Then the Prime Minister moved that the House of Commons should go into committee to consider the 'mode of administering the oath of abjuration to persons professing the Jewish religion.' The motion was carried, a committee was formed, and a preliminary resolution adopted. The Bill was read a second time by a majority of 202 to 177 in its favour, and a third time without a division. But it met with disaster in the House of Lords (July 17, 1851). Nothing was done until the session of 1853, when the question was again debated on the motion of Lord John Russell. On the third reading of the new Bill 'for the abolition of Jewish disabilities' (April 15, 1853), John Bright felt constrained to support the measure. The respected orator, in the course of a lengthy speech in the Commons, declared that the same feeling that prompted the exclusion of Roman Catholics from Parliament, that protested against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, was operating in the case of the Jews.

Despite all this oratory, the Bill met with its usual fate at the hands of the Lords. For four years more the struggle went on. Ultimately, in utter despair, the Earl of Lucan proposed (July 1, 1858) a solution of the difference by the insertion of a clause enabling either House by its own resolution to modify the form of oath. The Commons resolved to devise a special formula for Jews, and to act independently of the Upper House. Consequently, Lord Rothschild was permitted to take the oath on the Hebrew Bible, substituting for the words 'On the true faith of a Christian,' the modified form 'So help me Jehovah.'

Thus, after eleven years of debate and discussion, the Jew was permitted to take his seat in the British Parliament. Thus was terminated one of the important political struggles of the century. The admission of the Jew into the Commons betokened the break-down of the Christian exclusiveness of the legislature. Beyond this, nothing very serious happened to disturb the peace of the Tory party. Baron Rothschild's gold did not taint the legislature or bring about a speedy overthrow of the Established Church. As a matter of fact, the Baron's political career was not more spectacular than that of the humblest member of the House. Although he represented the City of London continuously for the next fifteen years, his 'only political contribution was the suggestion to meet the deficit . . . by a system of licenses to trade.' However, his presence in Parliament was important because it symbolized the political emancipation of the English Jew.

It was expected that the Jew, in recognition of the support he had received from the Liberals, would, on entering Parliament, take his place on the side of the Liberal party. Indeed, it was almost demanded of the Jew that he support the Liberal point of view through thick and thin. 'This agreement,' says Charles T. Halliman, 'the Jew has kept with extraordinary fidelity.'<sup>1</sup> In England, the Jew has

<sup>1</sup> *Nation*, CXVIII, 81 ff.



been the solid core of the Liberal, the Radical, and the National Liberal parties, to say nothing of the various socialistic parties as they have appeared on the scene. 'Even Disraeli, though Tory in politics and a professed Christian, never really went back on this tacit agreement.'

But the Liberal party felt that it had a right to expect more than parliamentary support from the Jew. Now that the Jew was free from the restrictions and the disabilities of the past, he was no longer an alien. He was henceforth in full possession of the privileges of a British citizen. Therefore, why should he not think and vote like other liberal Englishmen? Why should he not share a liberal Englishman's patriotism and view of the state? In short, why should he not rid himself of as much of his Jewishness and 'assimilate' himself to the liberal Englishman's society? This was merely a matter of adaptation. 'But,' says Hilaire Belloc, 'what the Jew wanted was not the proud privilege of being called an Englishman. To this he was completely indifferent. His pride lay in being a Jew, his loyalty was to his own. What the Jew wanted was not the feeling that he was just like the others. . . . What he wanted was security. It is what every human being craves for, and he of all men lacked—the power to feel safe in the place where one happens to be.'<sup>1</sup>

The English Jew was thankful for the fact that in his political emancipation he had passed from the inadequate shelter of the aristocratic law into the open spaces of the democratic law. No doubt, in his new liberated position, he was secure from the persecution of Church and State. However, in the change of method, in the very benefits of the new position, in the inevitable and natural intercourse between Jews and Christians, it was not such a simple matter to legislate out of existence the ancient barrier between the Jewish and Christian population. According to Dr. Da Costa, 'this barrier had a far deeper foundation than any

<sup>1</sup> Hilaire Belloc, *The Jews* (N.Y. 1922) 26.

purely human legislation.<sup>1</sup> It rested upon a difference, not only of religion, but of race and origin. Within the Jewish community there were two views of the situation. The first was held by the representatives of Orthodoxy, who profoundly venerated dogmatic tradition and prescription and observed with exact fidelity all matters of ecclesiastical ritual. They held on with the same tenacity of life which had preserved their existence through the persecutions of seventeen centuries, to the ancient order of their lives. The second was held by the younger generation of Jews who opposed to their orthodox elders claimed a wider latitude in the interpretation of the Mosaic Law and advocated the merging of Jewish interests completely with the general life of the nation. Thus, side by side, within English Jewry, the 'old lights' and the 'new lights' took different views of the position of the Jew in English society, and the problems that sprang up in the course of the next decade as a result of these differences were by no means easy to settle in any artificial manner.

The great majority of English Jewry felt very strongly, in the early days of emancipation, that in accepting the benefits of the parliamentary acts of 1858 and 1866, they need not surrender their rights as Jews. Why should they not guard as jealously as ever before their own peculiar cultural identity as members of an ancient race? They had won their citizenship on their own ground—not on the true faith of a Christian. This aloofness on the part of the 'conservative' element of the community was resented by certain Anglo-Saxon patriots, who were not slow in pointing out that it was no longer compulsory for the Jewish community to herd together in self-contained and isolated groups, and that it was by no means helpful in the healing of ancient wounds, for the 'Chosen People' to assume a sense of the superiority of race.

In the next few years, England was considerably disturbed by a large immigration of foreign Jews into the larger cities

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Isaac Da Costa, *Israel and the Gentiles* (1849) p. 576.

of the British Isles. The presence of thousands of unfortunate refugees driven by the outbreak of Anti-Semitism on the Continent (1881) to seek refuge in the heart of London made the horrors of Anti-Semitism very real to English citizens. The English press and pulpit lost no time in protesting against the whole awful business of Russian persecution.

The interests and sympathies of Jews and non-Jews were being drawn closer and closer together. Gradually, the Jew in England began to feel and appreciate his position of security and goodwill among the English people. His influence in the city increased. In business, he came into contact with an ever-widening range of British interests. His energy and enterprise enabled him to triumph over some of the various obstacles which religion and race had placed in his path. Before the end of the century, the Jew in England had overcome, in a great measure, the ancient feeling of 'separateness' and had thrown in his lot with every other citizen of the realm. He had an opportunity practically to rediscover himself, his past, and his position among the people of an extensive Empire. He advanced in every one of the liberal professions, and many among his fellows distinguished themselves in the service of the State. In 1885, Sir Nathan Rothschild, son of Baron Lionel, was raised to the peerage as Lord Rothschild. Constance and Anna Rothschild, daughters of Baron Lionel's younger brother, Anthony, married respectively Lord Battersea (1877) and the Hon. Eliot Yorke, son of the Earl of Hardwicke (1873). A daughter of another brother, Baron Lionel, married the Earl of Rosebery who succeeded Gladstone as Prime Minister in 1894. Furthermore, according to an anonymous observer, whose comments on the Jew in English society in the 'eighties, may be accepted for what they are worth:

'English society, once ruled by an aristocracy, is now dominated mainly by a plutocracy. And this plutocracy is, to a large extent, Hebraic in its composition. There is no phenomenon more noticeable in the society of London than the ascendancy of the Jews . . .'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Society in London*, by a Foreign Resident, (London 1885) 86-87.

As a result of many years of trial and error in social adjustment, it is believed that the present position of the Jew in England is perhaps the happiest that he has ever occupied in the history of his race since the destruction of Jerusalem. If we are to accept the statement of the Chief Rabbi of the Orthodox Jewish Congregation in London as an accurate representation of conditions, 'there is no Anti-Semitism in England.' There are, to be sure, some occasional manifestations of race antagonism and rivalry. But these outbursts are more of a sporadic, individual nature; they are not the organized mass movements of the eighteenth century or the party antagonisms of the nineteenth century. It is the opinion of the leaders of English Jewry that, whatever success the Jew has attained during the years since his emancipation in 1858, a great measure of his happiness and advancement in England is due to the English character. As a nation, England appreciates tradition and history and a high sense of loyalty in any people. In these very qualities the Jews excel and are distinguished. Therefore, it is natural that the national interests of England and the racial genius of the Hebrews are not opposed to each other, but have much in common and are able to 'merge' for the good of both parties. The thoughtful Englishman is also able to appreciate the fact that the Jew in England, coming as he does from a stock that has been distributed in a variety of cultures and races, has 'racial characteristics' which have as their chief 'characteristic' a certain adaptability to a new condition. It may be true that the Jew has maintained an integrity, a unity, a racial timbre, that sets him off; but it will be found in many cases that wherever there has been an opportunity for cultural assimilation, the Jew has adjusted himself to the prevailing culture, and has made a contribution towards the general advancement in certain aspects of the national life.

MONTAGU FRANK MODDER.

## CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA

## I

THE roots of modern Christianity are deep in Western society—European and American. Emerging from the eastern Mediterranean littoral, the great movement associated with the name of Jesus found its philosophy in Hellenism and its institutionalism in Roman imperialism (later modified or abandoned under the influence of North European movements); yet drawing its decisive inspiration from Palestine, crouched on the borderland of Europe, Asia and Africa. For almost two thousand years, its history has been European. The episodes of Nestorian and Catholic Missions in the Far East before the nineteenth century were incidental to the main story. This is all truism enough. Yet it comes with something of a shock to remember that the real attempt of Christian communities to establish themselves in Asia and Africa is barely one hundred and fifty years old. Still their most persistent representatives there are European and American—strangers and aliens—not Asiatic or African. The backbone of the 'native churches' is the 'foreign missionary.' If he were to go, and the support of which he is trustee, the churches would not of course disappear. The movement is too deeply rooted for that. But they would be changed almost beyond recognition—in structure, organization, economic level, and dogma.

Such a situation indicates a characteristic of modern Christian work in the Far East that is not sufficiently appreciated. For the first time in history, Christian communities are attempting to reproduce themselves in alien cultures. Hitherto, such non-European peoples<sup>1</sup> as have been the objects of Christian propaganda have lain on the

<sup>1</sup> This article is written from the point of view of North China and must be so understood.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'European' is used for convenience to include America.



fringes of European civilization and have been encountered, in the course of desultory European expansion, at isolated and unrelated points. But within the last two centuries the European world has become aware of vast cultures and civilizations, in extremes of development, lying beyond her borders: India, China, Africa. She tended to imagine these peoples, in the old Greek and Jewish phrases, as 'barbarians' and 'Gentiles.' She called them all 'heathen.' Impelled to trade with them, she also took to them her religion. That religion, which was the mightiest force in her own history, had assumed peculiarly European forms in organization and dogma. But she no more thought of analysing her religious message into 'essential' and 'accidental' than she considered making any alteration in her peculiarly European conceptions of trade and government. Hence the rise of 'pockets' of western law and commerce in Asia—for example, Shanghai and Tientsin—and the rise of Christian communities fashioned, in organization and dogma, after European models—Methodist, Anglican, Baptist, Roman Catholic—and these divided between national groups.<sup>1</sup> I walked the other day into the small county town of Chingsien, in southern Hopei. I wandered into the Roman Catholic church there. Outside the brilliant spring sunshine lit up the local street market. A host of images emphasized the differences between myself and my European traditions and this town and its eastern traditions. Inside the church, the sounds died away, and I stood—so deep was the illusion—in a small Breton church, structure, pictures, altar, the same; not Chinese, but familiar enough for a Breton peasant to walk in and notice nothing essentially unfamiliar. It is a parable.

Over the Christian Protestant communities in China there is spreading a mood of indecision and uncertainty. It is most obvious in its European leaders and members. This mood is no doubt due to those major factors in the

<sup>1</sup> This applies even to the different Roman Orders.

present European situation—the intellectual revolution of the last century (a slow but profound factor), and the more recent and spectacular collapse of trusted institutions and systems, financial, political and religious. These events have compelled the revision of fundamental assumptions, in the realms of finance, politics and theology, and have bred a feeling of disbelief and insecurity. Western civilization has become suspect.

But the particular situation of the Christian churches in the Far East has other causes, as important and effective as these—causes which would doubtless have operated, though with less speed, in a pacific and untroubled world.

In the first place, the need for revision which is felt everywhere in the Far East among Protestant communities, is the effect of the sheer force of cultural differences. We are beginning to realize that it is not possible to take from one civilization systems and dogmas, whose very form and fashion are native there, born in the secret womb of its specific history, and transplant them into the soil of a different culture, unchanged and unaltered. We are beginning to realize that we have yet to learn—what may be clumsily called—the technique of world evangelism. Let me illustrate. I have a small class every Thursday evening in Huimin city. Three or four Christian leaders attend and we talk together of problems that arise in the study of the New Testament. I once had such a class in England. Difficulties I found there, I find here doubly intensified. I take a Pauline doctrine, steeped in the thought-forms of Greco-Roman culture, but rooted in Palestinian intellectual and religious history. I seek to translate its meaning into the thought-forms of my own civilization. There is a certain continuity of tradition and history to help me, to make the leap less hazardous. But here I must make the further venture of helping to translate it again into Chinese terms, with only a modicum of understanding of Chinese history and mental assumptions, and with this profound difference,

that I have no continuity of tradition and history to lean upon, but must make a leap into the midst of unfamiliar traditions and assumptions. That is the problem in its barest outline. But it is intensified by the fact that certain interpretations of Paul's doctrine have become European religious dogma, and it is this (on the old understanding) I am supposed to transmit.

I might illustrate my point, were there space, by discussing the difficulties and effects of attempting to make, say, the Methodist system of government work among Chinese communities as they are found in North China. The conclusion that at the moment I hold is the same.

Hence arises an apparently unforeseen effect of western religious methods in the Far East. We have been compelled to confront our westernism. We have been compelled to envisage our institutions and dogmas against the wide canvas of a strange and vast world. Our intellectual assumptions confront alien intellectual assumptions. We who draw our philosophic life from Plato talk with those whose springs are in the classics of Confucius and Laotzu. The river of our religious history meets, not a stream, but another river flowing towards the sea. To change the metaphor, we have to cross decisive frontiers.

There is something of a parallel here, in the spiritual issues which face modern Christian communities in the Far East, with the situation of the Christian Church at the end of the first century. Decisive frontiers had then to be crossed, if Christianity was to prevail as a world force and not perish as a mere local Palestinian revival. The principles of that great venture were laid down by Paul, and in the Johannine literature the frontiers had been crossed and Christianity was a new power in the Hellenistic world. The step was not taken without misgiving and bitterness. There were many who could not understand why Palestinian Christianity could not dominate the world—it was dogmatic, ascetic and vigorous. But the judgement of

history was on the side of Paul and the Fourth Evangelist. Their eclecticism was proved to be, not latitudinarianism, but wisdom, the very wisdom of God.

The parallel is only suggestive. The dominant culture then was Greco-Roman. The problem to-day is more complex. While the East has become profoundly westernised, it has not thrown off the intellectual and cultural traditions of two millennia in a brief revolution, and it cannot do so. There are factories in Shanghai and Tientsin. There are telephone lines connecting the county towns of inland provinces. Modern Chinese armies fight with rifles (but also with a not completely abandoned belief in the Big Sword). But the heart of China is eastern still. She is only superficially western. The history of her recent educational experiments proves that. Her modern philosophical trend is towards a Neo-Confucianism. Her westernised legal codes operate only in restricted areas: in the countryside the traditional law of the centuries still rules. Hence the problem is not the ultimate domination of the world by western cultural traditions. Eastern culture has a destiny in the new world, and seeds sown long ago will still flower. 'The real problem,' says Dr. Hu Shih, 'therefore, may be restated thus: How can we best assimilate modern civilization in such a manner as to make it congenial and congruous and continuous with the civilization of our own making?'<sup>1</sup> He seeks his answer in a critical re-estimate of ancient Chinese philosophical schools. I doubt not that Indian thinkers take up a somewhat similar attitude. The ultimate world culture will not therefore be a domination of West or East, but an organic fusion of the two.

If this is so, the supreme issue confronting Christianity in the Far East is that it shall become indigenous, in actual fact as well as in theory, in practice as well as upon paper.

<sup>1</sup> *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*, p. 7.

## II

If we look carefully and boldly at the past practice of the Christian communities under foreign leadership in China, what are the outstanding characteristics? Many lives have been changed, and the Christian movement has become a great influence in the Republic, great beyond its numbers. But I am doubtful what the nature of this influence is. It is complicated with political and economic factors, and is difficult to appraise. It is an undoubted fact (in contradistinction to Japanese Christianity) that Chinese Christianity is mainly, at any rate in the North, a village Christianity and not a city one.<sup>1</sup> In our own Shantung sub-district, where work is carried on in eleven hsiens—the work extends into southern Hopei where we hold weak positions in three hsiens—the total number of members living in the eleven county towns is about twenty. I am informed that other missions have to report similar difficulties. County towns are for us mere centres for work in surrounding villages. Yet this is not a true measure of the extent of Christian influence, even in educated circles. Christianity is an idea, considered by modern Chinese students an idea to be combated, though they have but the vaguest notion of what it connotes, yet an idea influencing the minds of different groups in profound ways.

But what of village Christianity? As I know it, it is largely a miniature English Christianity. The services are very English. The few chapels we have built in brick are English in structure. The hymn-book contains few native Chinese hymns—the hymns are mainly translations from English hymnals. The tunes are the common ones we know in England. The structure of circuits follows the English model. The theology in the churches is English, as a glance at the Catechism would show. Now some such scheme as this has been the accepted policy of most missions, and

<sup>1</sup> Treaty ports are excluded from consideration, as abnormal.



it is set down here without attribution of blame. It has produced remarkable and permanent results. But there is a sense of uncertainty now, a feeling that, just as in Europe and America we are being compelled to make a belated re-examination of our fundamental assumptions, so in 'foreign missionary' work a similar re-examination must take place. Such a conviction underlies such different matters as the compiling of *Rethinking Missions* and the London Missionary Society's experiments at Ts'angchou and Siaochang.

The great peril of all such work as ours is the peril of deracination. We may unwittingly cut the roots of the little groups we establish, create in their minds a world of ideas which, to use Dr. Hu Shih's words, are not 'congenial and congruous and continuous' with the civilization of their own making. (History is full of the sudden deaths of discontinuous movements.) This is vividly illustrated in recent educational history in China, especially in the creation of modern Chinese universities. The students of these universities have been uprooted, and refuse to return to the villages where they grew up. They seek official and business positions in the great cities—Shanghai, Tientsin, Nanking, Peking. It is a fairly rare occurrence—I have made many inquiries—to find a Chinese university graduate willing to go back to the countryside from which he sprang. Agricultural reconstruction is one of the supreme needs of China, as the Central Government, to judge by recent enactments, has come to perceive. But though the countryside is vast and the great cities few, it is to these cities that the graduates flock. 'They appear sometimes,' writes Professor R. H. Tawney, 'to know little of the life of the great mass of their fellow-countrymen, and, of course with exceptions, to contribute little to its improvement.'<sup>1</sup> Some such process of uprooting produces that isolation from the people which marks official life in Nanking and elsewhere (the average age of high government officials, is,

<sup>1</sup> *Land and Labour in China*, p. 187.

I am told, between thirty and forty) and could cause one high party politician to remark, in the course of a conversation with Professor A. J. Toynbee—who had pointed out that 'the ultimate victory (in China) would fall . . . to those who sought to give the people the things that the people wanted deep down in their hearts'—'You are quite right. We certainly ought to learn how to use the people. If we don't, we shall find our opponents using them against us!'<sup>1</sup>

This illustration is not a detour. It illustrates in rather high lights the peril that confronts us, in different and perhaps subtler ways, in our religious enterprise—the peril of deracination. The theology, for example, of Chinese Christians is not native to them: they have mostly accepted it from their Western brethren. Hence Chinese Christians exhibit the same divisions, as, for example, between Fundamentalism and Modernism, that exist in England, and more particularly in the United States: a rather terrible thing. It is quite probable that our Chinese brethren do not attach such importance to these distinctions as we are apt to do. There they are, none the less. But only a theology—it is hardly needful to add that I am using this word in its broadest and most general sense, and not for the technical theology of the schools—and an organization which are native will stand the strains and the stresses of the coming days. The real intellectual and political revolution in China is yet to be.

### III

Modern missionary work is on its trial. Not this time is its significance and technique the object of criticism by its enemies, but by those who are themselves called to carry it on. There is no doubt about its fundamental necessity. It is indeed the inevitable decision born of the impulse of the spirit.

<sup>1</sup> *A Journey to China*, pp. 251-2.

By political and economic pressure, and by the nature of the very facts themselves, we are being driven to re-examine our foundations. We are brought ultimately to the primary issue of all spiritual work. What, after all, is the way of communicating the truth—in this matter, religious truth: of making Truth a common possession? With the Gospels in our hands, there can surely be only one answer: in the words of the Platonic Socrates of the 'Republic'—by meditation and discussion. That was the way that Jesus took. Institutions have their place, and dogmas their necessity. But it is surely a fact of no little importance that as we read the story of Jesus these matters recede into subsidiary significance. He spoke to great crowds, but chose a small fluctuating group. His memoirs are full of His conversations. The 'Sermon on the Mount' is doubtless constituted of such. He spent long hours in silent meditation and prayer. We have gone to China with our ecclesiasticisms and our dogmatisms, our organizations and our systems. We have in no little degree worshipped statistics. We have gone as 'missionaries'—a word I dislike, not for its clear meaning, but for the suspicion of condescension with which it is now inalienably associated. We have admitted an attitude which Jesus would not have shown. We have much to learn from China and only those who are willing to sit at her feet, humbly to learn her inner thoughts, are fit to be His apostles to this or any other people. A Chinese student said to a friend of mine, 'If you want to dogmatize to us, we don't want to listen. If you will talk about Jesus, come when you want.' I doubt not that he speaks for his people. Meditation and discussion—is there any other way by which those truths of the Incarnation, of the Redemption of Man, of the Sovereignty of Spirit, of the Eternal Christ, of the Love of God, can be made manifest and understandable? To speak without that authority which intimate friendship gives, and yet as though we possessed it; and without understanding of that

culture which those we talk to have inherited as a great possession, and yet as though it did not matter: is not this, to seize a phrase of Paul's for another use, only 'to rob temples'; to be propagandists and not teachers; to raise barriers that separate and not to create ties that bind?

I walked a few days ago into a small Taoist temple in the market town of Liang Chia Chi. The old Taoist priest—he was seventy-nine—received us with great courtesy. As we sat drinking tea he talked of his early training and his thirty years in the town. He spoke of his old masters, one in Tientsin, and one—under whom he first studied the *Tao Te Ching*—abbot, in the old days, of a temple north-east of Ningching city. He gave me a copy of the *Li Men Cheng Tsung*, an edition issued by himself. He spent six hours each day, beginning at midnight, in meditation. As I sat there, I had little desire to criticize or correct, had I been able. I felt I would rather learn. I fancy it was a look on his face rather than anything he said which made me feel like that. I sent him a copy of *Mark* as an exchange gift for his small book. I wondered what Jesus would have said to him. In the brief while at my disposal, I said nothing of my religious views, except to explain who I was and why I had come to China in the simplest way. I felt argument, propaganda, proselytizing to be out of place. I just trusted to that instinct. I would have liked a long talk in which we could have told each other the deepest things by which we lived. I feel much the same with my student class in Huimin city, with the peasants—lovable and loyal as they are—in the villages where I stay, whose hospitality I share. I wonder what right I have to speak to them, until I can share, in the quietness of friendship, the ultimate things I believe: to which the statements in the Catechism are as dry bones to living form. I set this down as a problem that daily confronts me.

I must confess that less and less do I want to build up here a constitution or to declare here a dogma. These

things I can leave in the hands of my Chinese brethren. They are eager to know what has happened in Europe; and our European experience in community building—and breaking—and in dogmatic formulation will be of vital importance as the Chinese Christian communities, now loosely bound together in small groups, find themselves. As they feel the need, we can speak and suggest. But the primary matter is to share that experience of God in Jesus Christ which is the imperishable impulse of all Christian communities. Thus we come back to Socrates and Jesus: 'By meditation and discussion'; 'This kind can come out by nothing, save by prayer,' and 'He appointed twelve, that they might be with Him, and that He might send them forth to preach.'

Let me say this finally. We are here to persuade men to shape their lives after the manner of Jesus of Nazareth, by the impulse of His deathless Spirit. Numbers, for the moment, are not important. A small group may become the symbol of a mighty idea that ultimately achieves what institutions fail to achieve. The story of Mustapha Kemal's overthrow of the Caliphate is instructive on the mightiness of ideas. So, too, and more appropriately for us, is the work of the Society of Friends. We have to establish in China small communities of men and women who have become the utter disciples of Jesus, walking daily in His light: that these may become the symbol of an idea whose grasp shall stretch beyond the confines of any group, and become the instrument of a redeemed China and a redeemed Far East. We are engaged in the remaking of history in the light of supra-historical ideas: ideas which are born in the minds of men only when God dwells in their hearts. Perhaps that is the meaning that was in the mind of Jesus when He said that His disciples would become the light of the world and the salt of the earth.

ALAN T. DALE.

*Shantung Mission.*



THE TRAGEDY OF WORDSWORTH<sup>1</sup>

WORDSWORTH lived to be eighty. But practically all his significant work was written before he was forty. What was the cause of his poetical decline? The question has engaged many pens, and though the discovery by Professor Légouis of his relations with Annette Vallon and the publication by Professor de Sélincourt of the original version of *The Prelude* have, during the last twenty years, compelled some fundamental reconsideration of his life, character, and work, it might seem that, after the labours of Professor Herford, Professor Garrod, and Mr. Herbert Read, little that is fresh remained to be said about Wordsworth. Now, however, Mr. Fausset, in whose hands criticism itself becomes almost creative, offers us an exhaustive volume, which is so original and profound that, whether or not they accept its findings, future commentators must certainly reckon with it. Here is no mere journeyman's work, but a true and vital book, reflecting a personality intensely sensitive and independent, and as intellectually subtle as it is spiritually simple and sincere.

Spiritual simplicity, which implies a mind alert and questioning, because unsubdued to conventional values, characterizes the natural, unspoiled child. The wise and happy adult is he who retains the essential qualities of childhood. The man, of course, while remaining childlike, must put away the things that are merely childish. He must come to terms with the world and with himself, and must avoid either evading difficulties and responsibilities or allowing them to kill the intuitive faculties that lie at the base of his own personality. Christ, the supreme psychologist, realized this fact when He said that we must be as little children, but also that we must be born again. Mr. Fausset, who is a mystic in the broader as distinct from the technical sense

<sup>1</sup> *The Lost Leader*, by Hugh l'Anson Fausset. (Jonathan Cape, 1933.)

of the word, expresses the same idea when he says that 'the "grand elementary principle of pleasure," which is, when truly conceived, the touchstone of life, can only be preserved active and vital, after a certain stage in development is reached, if it is transformed into creative delight.' The self becomes creative through being freed from all personal acquisitiveness. Coming to live in what it contemplates, it passes out of the circumscribed life of sense, and achieves the joy of union in place of the pleasure of possession. 'The hunger of egotism is appeased because the individual is no longer prevented by fear or thought of private advantage from participating purely and wholly in the Universe which he perceives. His identity with life is as complete as that of the day-old infant, but it is an identity of freedom instead of bondage. The journey from pure egotism to pure selfhood which is also selfless has been completed.'

This, as Mr. Fausset admits, is a counsel of perfection, which few men fully translate into practice; 'but a striving towards the goal is essential, as every religious teacher has insisted, to continued growth.' And the indictment against Wordsworth is not merely that he failed to be born again—to achieve the full imaginative redemption of instinct. He gave up the attempt at completion, and took refuge in a self-protective compromise—which proved to be self-destructive. *The Prelude*, instead of being, as he intended, the introduction to his great life-work—a philosophical epic of Miltonic proportions and quality—proved in fact to be an epilogue.

It is possible, of course, to argue, with Professor Herford, that, while Wordsworth's later poetry marks an indisputable artistic decline, the man himself did not degenerate, but passed, through a natural human process, from the rapturous singer into the sober, practical, and wise statesman. Much obviously turns upon our conception of wisdom. The conservative mind will be predisposed to regard the patriotism and ecclesiasticism of the later Wordsworth as signs of grace,

and to attribute the poorer quality of his poetry, however lamentable in itself, to the inevitable cooling of youthful ardour. Mr. Fausset, however, rejects this view on two grounds. Firstly, he reminds us that Wordsworth's poetry was never of that purely lyrical kind which most easily fades with the passing of youthful romanticism. It had always its basis in philosophy. And, secondly, so far from accepting conventional statesmanship and piety at their face value, the whole of Mr. Fausset's book is an implicit suggestion that the world has come to its present sorry pass just because, in politics and religion, we have made that compromise with spiritual first-principles of which Wordsworth himself was guilty.

To reveal the nature and causes of our present world chaos, by demonstrating them in the history of one man, is, indeed, a prime part of Mr. Fausset's aim. He is no mere idol-smasher. He fervently admires the best of Wordsworth's poetry, and realizes that in the *Ode on Intimations of Immortality* Wordsworth came almost within sight of ultimate spiritual truth. But the potential mystic in him failed to complete himself at a crucial point; and thereafter his decline was inevitable and cumulative. The purely literary student may wisely concentrate on Wordsworth's earlier poetry, which, if it represents but the ante-chamber to the great hall planned by the architect himself, is nevertheless unique and imperishable. Yet why were the architect's own dreams never realized? The psychologist legitimately seeks an answer; and it is as a psychologist that Mr. Fausset puts the question. 'It is,' he says, 'because Wordsworth's life, and the inner record of it which his poetry provides in such exhaustive detail, offer a remarkable opportunity for the study of the relation between selfhood and selflessness, the spirit of man and the forces of Nature, that I have undertaken this book.'

The circumstances of Wordsworth's childhood were ideally suited to his needs. Sensitive to beauty, he grew up in one

of the loveliest regions of England; and, though she said that 'Willie' alone among her five children caused her any anxiety for the future, his mother neither coddled nor repressed him. He could roam at will, not merely absorbed in Nature, but learning wisdom from shepherds, pedlars, and other figures of the countryside, who, if unlettered, were characters in the true sense that they had grown from their own roots and were not bemused by the gossip of towns or veneered with a superficial education. He had, moreover, in his sister Dorothy, a companion whose primitive wildness was tempered but not tamed by exquisite sensibility, and who loved him then, as always, to the point of idolatry. Mr. Fausset doubts whether in later life Dorothy's unquestioning devotion was, at times, the best possible influence for William; but in childhood she admirably complemented him. For Wordsworth himself had, from earliest years, a vein of hardness, inherited from both his parents. This hardness, because of mal-adjustment, was ultimately to work spiritual havoc, but it served him well as a child. It saved him from that touch of morbidity that threatened a Shelley or a Tennyson. It made him as ready, as less sensitive boys, to face danger and to enjoy all normal sports and pastimes. It enabled him, in his more reflective moods, to be a solitary, without experiencing that sense of isolation that sometimes makes physical loneliness a terror to the nervous. And, not least, it preserved him from undue shock when, at the age of eight, he lost his mother and the home was broken up. Dorothy went to live with relatives at Preston, where she was miserable. Wordsworth himself was sent to school at Hawkshead, where he lodged with an old dame, Anne Tyson, who, homely as her own cottage, mothered him with the selfless affection of the simple. The companionship of his schoolfellows, and the first intercourse with books, enriched and disciplined, without in any way thwarting, his individuality. He had, indeed, 'fair seedtime of the soul'; and, though the death of his father in 1783, when he was thirteen, caused 'the first definite

disturbance of the purely instinctive harmony of his being,' he had rooted himself so deeply in Nature that his mind, while stirred to inquiry, did not lose its belief in her. He was obscurely troubled for a time, but became in consequence more finely responsive to natural beauty. Throughout boyhood, says Mr. Fausset, 'that creative union of activity and passivity, which is native to the infant and the child, was preserved. He drank in "a pure organic pleasure" from the world about him, because he was organic in himself. In his unconscious intercourse with "beauty old as creation" he at once gave and received. The two motions were reciprocal and as inevitable as the taking in and giving out of breath by the lungs. By this creative rhythm

The daring instincts and the brooding powers  
Were mutually sustained.'

Cambridge helped to foster his slow organic growth. He found the academic life of the University arid enough, and, moved by a strong, if as yet vague, sense of vocation, he rejected, with wise instinct, the 'bait' of learning. Reading books of his own choosing, consorting with companions of a type new to him, and taking long walks through a landscape equally novel, 'his under soul was hushed; as it is good for the soul to be periodically hushed,' while his experience was broadened. In Cambridge, the budding poet having hitherto stood remote from the world, 'could watch on a small scale a private performance of the eternal drama of life,' with its intrigues and pretensions. He was thus broken gradually to hard facts. At the end of his first year he returned to his native county with a quickened appreciation of its beauty, a deepened insight into the minds of its plain-speaking people, and a more conscious sense of his own high destiny. So far he had grown steadily towards the fulfilment of that destiny. But we now come to the episode which explains its ultimate frustration.

During the long vacation of 1790, Wordsworth had made a walking tour in France. That country was in the first flush



X of Revolutionary idealism. 'The road,' as he afterwards said, 'streamed with the pomp of a too credulous day,' and 'faith was pledged to new-born Liberty.' That faith naturally inflamed a young poet of twenty. In 1791, he returned to France, and, though there were already signs of a change in the Revolutionary temper, the coming Terror slumbered. It was still possible for an impressionable young man to believe in Liberty, and it was easy enough for him to find X additional romantic appeal in a young woman who ardently shared that faith. Wordsworth succumbed to the charms of Annette, the daughter of his host at Orleans, and, a year later, an illicit child was born.

Alike in its matter and the texture of its style, Mr. Fausset's book reflects that intense spirituality which transcends, but includes, a strict moral sense. He does not lightly condone Wordsworth's lapse, or regard it as the inevitable sowing of wild oats. 'In snatching too hastily at its blossom,' he says, Wordsworth 'precluded love from ever coming to true fruition in his experience.' His marriage with Mary Hutchinson, in 1802, was for him, indeed, essentially one of convenience. Yet, so far as they may ever be legitimately urged, extenuating circumstances might be pleaded for Wordsworth's youthful fall. It was less the sin itself that irreparably injured him: it was his subsequent reactions to that sin.

Why did he not marry Annette? He vacillated for a time. 'He believed that he longed ardently to marry her, and that he would do so as soon as the worst obstacles were removed.' Obstacles there certainly were. He lacked money; he had no profession; and, while he confessed it to the ever-magnanimous Dorothy, he was afraid to tell his secret to his guardians, lest such slight worldly prospects as he had should be threatened. Soon, moreover, Annette's family no longer favoured the Revolution, and were therefore less ready to welcome an impecunious young foreigner who did. Nevertheless, as Mr. Fausset says, Wordsworth could have married

Annette 'secretly, if necessary, as he had loved her, to ease her mind, without immediately adding to his responsibilities. And it was probably at bottom his ingrained instinct for self-preservation which prevented him now, as at other danger-points in his life, from sacrificing prudence to generosity.'

Wordsworth revisited Annette in August, 1792, before the birth of her child. Annette already seemed different and less desirable, which perhaps is only another way of saying that Wordsworth intuitively felt that his love of poetry was deeper than his love of her. The state of France had also changed. There were growing signs of a split in the popular party, and, while still theoretically a Revolutionist, Wordsworth, foreseeing the inevitable defeat of the Girondins by the extremists, and having no wish for martyrdom, escaped to England in January, 1793. When hostilities broke out between England and France, after the execution of Louis, he was torn between love of his own country and the faith which he still maintained in the Revolution. His problem as lover and father was greatly complicated, and his recoil from the memory of Annette no doubt helped to colour his later political recoil from France itself. Meanwhile, having ignored her simple appeal for marriage, he was soon shut off, through the war, from regular postal communication with Annette.

Ten years later, before his marriage with Mary Hutchinson, Wordsworth visited Annette again, and found her 'sociable good sense' very comforting. In poem after poem, as Mr. Fausset shows, he had dramatised the story of his illicit union, attempting to reconcile pity for Annette with justification for himself. In a mood of genuine inspiration he intermingled his love of Dorothy with his concern for Annette, and produced the 'Lucy' masterpieces. Now, however, seeing Annette again in the flesh, her robust, practical sagacity 'transformed her from the "Forsaken Woman" of his remorseful fancy into a woman of the world,

and it strengthened his conviction that he had acted rightly in forsaking her.' Both Wordsworth and Annette herself recognized their incompatibility. Even her political opinions were now quite alien to his own, for while he grieved over Napoleon for proving false to the original ideals of the Republic, she, as an ardent monarchist and Catholic, hated him for failing to restore the Bourbons. 'Thirteen years later Wordsworth himself was to desire such a restoration, and if he had been as free from self-deception as she was, he might even at this time have recognized that he had already embarked on the road that led to such a standpoint. But fortunately for English poetry he still clung to his belief that a compromise might be effected between his early Radicalism and his growing Conservatism.'

Despite the secret shame which gnawed at his heart, Wordsworth as a poet had his fine flowering season. He was young; he had the stimulating sympathy of Dorothy and of Coleridge; and, in youth, not even an inner burden is consistently oppressive. He succeeded for a time, moreover, in believing that he had discovered ground for self-justification in the doctrines of William Godwin. Godwin, however, was soon superseded in his favour by the eighteenth-century philosopher, David Hartley, whose influence, unhappily, Wordsworth never completely escaped. 'The child is father of the man' is his poetical reflection of Hartley's theory that human progress is a natural rise into virtue through a process of associated sensation. Hartley enjoyed a considerable vogue in his day and afterwards; nor was it wholly undeserved. But his doctrines, plausible on the surface, eliminated the necessity for a break in the closed circle of sensation and thought which he analysed so penetratingly, and they further encouraged Wordsworth in the attempt 'to enjoy at the same time the raptures of a benevolent idealism and the self-regarding prudence of common-sense materialism.'

During his creative period, which ended in 1815, Wordsworth, says Mr. Fausset, 'went to the extreme limit that a

man can go short of being reborn into the new life of selfless love.' His poetry, in the light of Mr. Fausset's analysis, seldom rises beyond a noble pantheism, though the *Tintern* lines, with their 'sense of something far more deeply inter-fused,' early suggested that, but for the unresolved struggle between heart and head, the natural man in Wordsworth might have attained at last to the spiritual man. The *Intimations* ode reveals him actually hovering upon the brink of rebirth, and marks his supreme attainment as a poet. But the seeds of self-deception had all the time been at work, and at the crucial moment, when a man either goes forward or backward, he failed to exorcise his shame by frankly acknowledging it to himself. Through his revolt against the memory of Annette, he lost his old free joy in the natural world, while his egotism barred his full entry into the life of the spirit. 'Feeling the need for humility, he could make reasoned and moving pleas for it. But he refused to make that ultimate submission without which there can be no real experience of what humility means.' And because he continued to evade this ultimate act of self-surrender which alone could have liberated him, he was to spend the rest of his life in a self-defensive warfare, culminating in barren self-righteousness and conventionality.

Mr. Fausset is antithetically removed from mere iconoclasm. He realizes that many people with conventional values are in different degrees 'capable and serviceable, intelligent and sensitive men of the world.' But spiritually they are like 'agreeable boys who never grow up.' For such people orthodoxy may honestly suffice; and even a poet, like George Herbert, may draw vitality from orthodoxy and himself quicken it anew. For Wordsworth, however, the Church of England was not an avenue to larger life, but a mere shelter from his own problems; while his political Conservatism similarly represented convictions, not worked out from their roots, but thwarted by the unresolved 'complex' in himself. He started life with the vision which, had

he passed through the crucible of spiritual rebirth, might have enabled him to sift, vitalize, and interpret all that was best in the Revolutionary ideals. 'As it was, the very qualities that made him a great poet, his stark independence, his intense self-absorption, and his tenacity of feeling, became, now that life no longer inspired him, his chief defects.' During his last thirty-five years he continued to exercise his skill as a verbal craftsman, and the Universe, doubtless, still murmured to him sometimes 'like a shell of that native sea from which he had emerged into conscious life; but he could no longer travel thither or see the eternal children sport upon its shore.'

Such, in bald summary, is Mr. Fausset's theme. He illuminates it with rich pictorial power and, surveys the poet's own work, with subtle imaginative and psychological insight. He may sometimes err in detail. There is the danger, even for so scrupulous a writer as Mr. Fausset, of making the facts fit the theory where the theory does not obviously fit the facts. But his thesis, as a whole, will convince many readers who believe that true spirituality, even if it express itself through orthodox channels, must have deeper than conventional roots. And because the tragedy of Wordsworth is, for Mr. Fausset, more than the tragedy of one man's life—because it reflects the wider tragedy of the nineteenth-century compromise that culminated in the Great War—*The Lost Leader* should be read with interest and profit by many who are not specifically concerned with Wordsworth himself. Few books of our generation contain more matter for thought, or more sensitively mirror the gulf that separates formality in religion from that vital spirituality which alone in the long run is practical no less than ideal.

GILBERT THOMAS.



## HENRY MORE, THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONIST

**W**HEN the stern dogmatism of the first half of the seventeenth century was passing into the latitudinarianism of the second half there arose a little group of Christian philosophers in England that shunned both dogmatism on the one hand and latitudinarianism on the other. They preferred to find the way of sweet reasonableness in religion, if it were possible, as a relief from the furious controversies of their times, and found the secret of peace in a quiet mysticism that recognized Plato rather than Paul as their teacher.

It was not a mere accident that the greatest figures in this group were all associated more or less closely with the University of Cambridge. The dominant Calvinism of Cambridge was challenged in the 'seventeen-thirties' by several of Laud's nominees, who were sent there to keep the Puritans in check, and when Anthony Tuckney came as Vice-Chancellor to the University in 1648 he was shocked at the reaction against Calvinism there. He found there men who declined to receive the Gospel according to Geneva without question, but insisted on bringing every subject to the touchstone of reason. The most influential of these men was Benjamin Whichcote, an old student of his own but now Provost of King's College and the eloquent Sunday afternoon lecturer in Trinity church. The Vice-Chancellor was led into controversy with him, but controversy was little to the taste of men who regarded 'universal charity as a thing final in religion.' 'These appeals of yours to reason on all occasions have grown nauseous,' said Tuckney; yet reason and charity were to be the last word with Whichcote and those who followed him. They were shocked by the harsh doctrines of human depravity, and were for ever quoting the proverb 'the spirit of man is the candle of the Lord.'

Perhaps the greatest names in this distinguished group of thinkers are those of Ralph Cudworth and John Smith.

John Smith's name is common enough, yet the charm of his *Discourses* is unique. The note of intellectual and spiritual genius runs through them all. He was helped financially at the University by Whichcote, and it was at Cudworth's house that Whichcote himself died, more than thirty years after John Smith had passed away. This in itself shows that soul kindled soul and that we are right in regarding the Cambridge Platonists as a distinct school. We have, too, Nathaniel Culverwell who went to Emmanuel College in 1633, when Whichcote was a Fellow there, three years before John Smith appeared on the same scene. Then there is John Worthington, who edited Smith's *Discourses*, married a niece of Whichcote and also commended the sermons of Henry More to the world. The spiritual kinship of these men is, however, of more importance than their associations with one another in Cambridge, or London, or country livings in Somerset or elsewhere. They came from all parts of the country, from Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Shropshire, Northampton, and Surrey, as well as from the royalist West, but the climate of the soul was the same for all. They would all have accepted Whichcote's saying, 'the maintenance of truth is rather God's charge, and the continuance of charity ours.'

All of them have their distinctive qualities, but it is Henry More with whom we are at present concerned. He was not so learned nor so great a philosopher as Cudworth, not so evidently a leader of men as Whichcote, not so inspired as John Smith, but in many ways the most interesting personality of them all. This might not be gathered from his writings which are very voluminous but never very popular and in parts almost incomprehensible. He is the most mystical of all the Cambridge Platonists, yet the voice of God to which he listened, was ever the voice of reason too. 'He that misbelieves,' he says, 'and lays aside clear and cautious things in reason in things that fall under the discussion of reason, upon the pretence of hankering after some higher principle (which, a thousand to one, proves but the infatuation of

melancholy, and a superstitious hallucination), is as ridiculous as if he would not use his natural eyes about their proper object till the presence of some supernatural light, or till he had got a pair of spectacles made of the crystalline heaven, or of the *coelum empyreum*, to hang upon his nose for him to look through.' It was a characteristic of this school, which seemed to differentiate them from the early Quakers, that they believed in the inner light, but found it identical with the purified reason of man. The obscurities in More's writings do not arise from a supernatural gift of tongues which edifies the recipient but leaves the auditor wondering whether the speaker is quite sane, but from a weight of classical learning that makes use of odd symbolism to express his meaning. This is most trying in his long poem that he calls *Psychozoia*, the more so since it is an allegory of his own religious experience and full of valuable material, as Mr. Geoffrey Bullough has shown in his recent edition of the *Philosophical Poems of Henry More*. Yet More could write with beautiful simplicity and directness both in prose and verse and John Wesley chose some of his hymns for use in Methodist congregations and published some of his sermons in the Christian Library.

Though More lived through all the middle part of the stormy seventeenth century (1614-1687) his life was singularly uneventful. This was of deliberate choice and good fortune, for his father, who was 'a gentleman of fair estate and fortune' at Grantham, wished him to enter upon some active profession, but gave up the task of persuasion when he saw his son's contentment in his rooms at Christ's College, Cambridge. Neither Cavalier nor Roundhead was able to drive him out from that abode of peaceful meditation. J. H. Shorthouse in *John Inglesant* makes Dr. More a known royalist. There, however, he goes too far. There is no doubt as to More's loyalty to the Church of England, but he was inclined to blame both the King and the mob for the chaos to which the country was brought by Civil War and therefore to welcome either a Cromwell or a Charles II if they could

only give the country peace. Like another Falkland he wept over civil conflict and 'upon the News of some Battle, his Passive, Melancholiz'd Spirit, able no longer to contain itself, sat itself down and with Tears bewail'd the Evils and Miseries of his Native Country.' But if his spirit was at times 'melancholiz'd' it was far from being melancholy. Its natural temper was one of unusual exaltation and Shorthouse brings this out well in the few pages he gives to Henry More in *John Inglesant*. He is actually quoting from Ward's old biography of More, when he speaks of his passionate love of the open air and the beauties of Nature and when he describes his interest in and antagonism to the Quakers. He tones down a little the mystic's explanation of his communion with God. What More said in defending himself against the attacks of Henry Vaughan's brother was, 'Nor am I at all Enthusiastical. For God doth not ride one as a Horse and guide me I know not whither myself: but converseth with one as a Friend.'

Practically all his life was spent at Cambridge after leaving Eton. He had already rejected the harsh doctrine of predestination while yet a schoolboy and entered Christ's College in 1631 just as Milton was leaving it. Six years of hard study, with much wrestling with crabbed philosophy led to a spiritual crisis and a sudden conversion. He declares that the *Theologia Germanica* was the means of his awakening: 'that truly Golden Book . . . struck and amazed my soul as it were out of sleep. Which it did verily as in a Moment of the Twinkling of an Eye.' Two years later he became a Fellow of his College. He took orders and wrote sermons, but it cannot be proved that he preached them. He steadily refused all preferments except a prebend in Gloucester Cathedral, which he immediately resigned in favour of a friend, who later became Bishop there. His only ambition was for the life of the scholar and religious recluse, though it was no stoical or monastic retirement that he sought. We find no trace of asceticism in the paradise that he made for himself at

Cambridge. Like Milton he was a great lover of music and played on the theorbo. He was also very sociable and a delightful talker. His biographer calls him 'one of the merriest Greeks.' He leaves the impression of complete happiness, and rejoiced in physical health; moreover the secret of a peaceful mind was his.

All the works of God with close embrace  
 I dearly hug in my enlarged arms.  
 All the hid paths of heavenly lore I trace  
 And boldly listen to his secret charms.  
 Then clearly view I where true light doth rise  
 And where eternal Night low presséd lies.

The lives of the mystics are notoriously uneventful. And More chose the retired life deliberately, and endeavoured to avoid the conflict that was rending the country asunder. Did he ever read the *Areopagitica*, ponder over the famous passage about 'a fugitive and cloistered virtue' and consider whether he were slinking out of 'the race where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat'? Yet there is a place for the quiet student away from the arena and every man is not born to be a partisan. More too, was a poet and his fancy had been kindled as a boy as his father read the *Faerie Queene* to his family on winter evenings. It may be that he would have been a greater poet had he risked himself in the whirlpool of public affairs as Milton did. As it is, his poetry is too pedantic and philosophical to win much attention. He is called a Platonist, but his philosophy seems based on Plotinus rather than Plato and is not based on any actual study of either. No one had at that time troubled to translate either Plato or Plotinus into English, and More must have pursued his studies of these authors in Greek in a meditative discursive manner. Another stream of Neo-Platonism came into his philosophy through the *Theologia Germanica* whose mysticism had been made popular by Luther. This was a welcome relief from the Calvinistic theology which he had already rejected, and from the materialism, which was shaping itself on the philosophy of Hobbes, and was to provide so undesirable a challenge



to the whole school of Cambridge Platonists. These influences on More's meditations expressed themselves in 1640 in a poem called *Psychozoia* which owes much to Plotinus for subject matter and to Spenser for form. The author himself found it 'rather obscure' and was inclined to burn it, but eventually published it in 1642. It gives his view of the Divine order and the story of his own mystical progress, but as he was shy at self-revelation he throws his religious experience into the form of an allegory. Mr. Bullough's interpretations are very helpful to the poor pedestrian who is not accustomed to soar into the empyrean.

There is a clear warning early in the poem that the author will lead his readers into difficult places.

My mind is moved dark parables to sing.

He is seeking to explain the way in which the immanence of God is the condition of the universe. The crude sovereignty of Calvinism will not satisfy him. He greets Psittaco, who represents that doctrine and argues with him on predestination with the chill greeting:

You are Heaven's Privy-Counsellour I understand.

Nor can the worldly-wise ecclesiastic help him in his inquiry. He was like a Cathedral Dean,

Top heavy was his head with earthly policy.

Still less will the harsh dogmatism of the sects enlighten him. Their weakness was

A deep self-love, want of true sympathy  
With all mankind, Th'admiring their own herd,  
Fond pride and sanctimonious cruelty  
. . . . Strangling reason.

He can only discover the way of peace by humility and by the descent of the Divine life into the soul of man and the ascent of the soul to that union with God, where love and peace prevail. Here he seems to describe some deep and mystical experience of his own and here also he finds his philosophy.

The whole problem of being is to pass from diversity to unity. This is the true goal of life. That unity is, of course, the very being of God. Having entered into union with God, his experience escapes language altogether.

Too hard it is, said he, that kingdom's glee

To show; who list to know himself must come and see.

So he reaches the goal, after many wanderings and ends his strange poem with the words, 'The good is uniform, the Evil infinite.'

In his later days More turned to spiritualism and theosophy and little is known about the last ten years of his life. In all probability there was little to report. His actual contribution to philosophy is not a weighty one, but consistent loyalty to reason and the love of God in a world of unreason and strife expressing itself in eloquent speech as well as in a life of radiant peace, makes Henry More one of the most notable figures in English religious history. Wesley has many harsh words to say about mysticism, but he was glad to let the mystics speak to the people in his popular editions of Christian literature. He must have had a special love for Henry More, so he not only reprinted his sermons 'on Doing the Will of God,' 'on receiving the Divine likeness,' 'on suffering with Christ,' 'on Doing the Word of God,' and 'on Pure Religion' but adapted his hymn on the Holy Spirit for public worship. It is true that this selection shows us the Cambridge Platonist as a conventional Christian, but there are flashes of his characteristic qualities throughout. 'The Eternal Truth of God, clothed in flesh, goes wandering up and down in this strange country of the world . . . conversing mostly with the meanest of men, condemned and hooted at by the great rabbies of the world.' 'This far-stretched firmament, or all-encircling air . . . ever anvilling out its Maker's praises, by air-beating sounds and voices.' He is most himself in the sermon on receiving the Divine likeness. The unregenerate are described as living through 'a series of dreams' in a world of illusion; while to awake to the Divine

likeness is to enter, in some measure, into the Divine omnipotence and infinite goodness. He is not to be turned from the 'inexpressible benignity' of this experience by any consideration of the evil of human existence. Unlike later pessimists he considers 'how infinitely scanty the region of these tragical spectacles is, compared with the rest of the universe, and how short a time they last.' 'If you could look within the covetous man's soul, it is nothing near so beautiful as the foulest dunghill puddle, where, if you cast your eye, you may haply meet with the reflection of the stars, or the bright circle of the sun, or the white moving clouds, or the pleasant blue-coloured sky.' It is no ascetic spirit that is reasoning here, nor when he declares that to be unspotted from the world is 'to have our whole man acted and regulated by the Spirit of God. Dull phlegm is no Christian patience. . . . He is not chaste that never partook of the bed of defilement, nor temperate that neither eats nor drinks to excess; but he that enjoys the pleasure of the creature only in reference to the Creator.' So Wesley's extracts from Henry More's sermons end with a prayer for that Holy Spirit who is alone able to speak to the beauty and conscience of men and for 'that sweet candour and simplicity that is in Christ Jesus'. Or as he puts it in the hymn that Wesley chose:

Yea, let thy Spirit in every place  
Its richer energy declare;  
While lovely tempers fruits of grace,  
The Kingdom of thy Christ prepare.

A. W. HARRISON.

In *Religion in Life* (Meth. Episcopal Church Summer Number) Dr. Sperry, Dean of the Harvard Theological School, discusses 'The Language of Prayer.' Every minister in a non-liturgical church should know the *Book of Common Prayer* by heart and not be a stranger to the *Missal*. Dr. Fort Newton in 'The Spiritual Life of Lincoln' says 'no sceptic ever sat in the White House.' 'Nothing more noble than the character of Lincoln has ever been seen in our New World.' 'He was a man of God, plain, simple, kindly, who knew that humanity is deeply wounded somewhere and tried to heal it.'

## AARON BURR AND THE BRAND OF CAIN

**T**HE United States of America has produced three men who stand in the front rank of greatness. They are George Washington, whose military achievements made the Republic possible, Alexander Hamilton, who consolidated the Republic, and Abraham Lincoln, who saved it. As a modern historian has said, they were 'the three master builders to whom the American Republic owes most.' There are some who, lacking full knowledge, would question Hamilton's right to be ranked with Washington and Lincoln. They are in error. Hamilton was a very great man. Talleyrand said that he considered Napoleon, Fox, and Hamilton as the three greatest men of his epoch and, of these, he gave the first place to the last. In view of the great part which Hamilton played in American history, everything relating to him is of the greatest interest.

It was in keeping with the dramatic career of Hamilton that he should not die an ordinary death. He was slain in a duel with Aaron Burr. Burr, like his victim, lived a dramatic life, and had brilliant abilities and a striking character. The two men were keen rivals at the Bar and became bitter rivals in politics. Hamilton came to hate Burr with an intense antipathy. Their mutual antagonism in the end led them to cast prudence to the wind and to resort to the arbitrament of arms. Hamilton was killed and Burr became an outcast for the rest of his life.

Aaron Burr was the son of the Reverend Aaron Burr, president of Princeton University. His mother was the daughter of Jonathan Edwards, the eminent divine, whose works might have been seen in second-hand book-boxes in England as late as the 'seventies and 'eighties. Burr was born in Newark, New Jersey, in 1756, and lost his mother in infancy. He had a brilliant career at Princeton University and graduated with distinction in his sixteenth year. At

the beginning of the Revolution in 1775 he joined the army of the insurgents near Boston, and accompanied Benedict Arnold on his famous expedition to Quebec. After the severe hardships and disasters of that experience he came back with the rank of major and a brilliant reputation for courage and ability. He proved himself a good officer, an energetic and enterprising commander, a magnetic, inspiring leader.

Soon after his return from the Quebec expedition Burr became a member of the military family of Washington. He was not satisfied, however, with his position under the commander-in-chief. He had but a poor opinion of Washington, and disliked and mistrusted him. He thought him dull and slow-witted and a poor soldier. He resented the touchiness which compelled even Hamilton, devoted as he was to Washington, to leave his staff. 'To a person of Burr's culture,' says Wandell, 'the General's lack of any considerable education, his failure to rise intellectually beyond the mediocrity of a small Virginia planter, was, in the first place uninspiring. Aside from that, the young veteran of the assault on Quebec did not consider the ex-Indian fighter of Virginia militia fame a good general; he knew nothing of scientific methods, he possessed no experience of advanced warfare, he had no tactical knowledge to impart worth listening to.'

Burr thought that the General was as fond of adulation as he was known to be sensitive to censure, and that no officer could stand well with him who did not play the part of his worshipper. He could not bear near his person, said Burr, a man of any independent habit of mind. How far these statements are justified it is at the moment unnecessary to inquire, but there is no doubt that Burr irritated Washington by criticizing and disagreeing with him, and by freely making suggestions, which were frequently well-inspired and sound. Washington disliked people who presumed to oppose his opinions or question his pronouncements. Burr, moreover, never hesitated to ignore instructions from the commander-in-chief which appeared to him ill-conceived.



Eventually, after about six weeks, Burr left Washington, and went as *aide* to General Putman. This action of Burr gave grave offence to Washington, and indeed proved unfortunate and injurious to Burr's career. Washington never again felt any friendship for Burr nor trust in him, while Burr never ceased to cherish dislike and contempt for Washington. In July, 1777, at the age of twenty-one, Burr was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and distinguished himself on more than one occasion. In March, 1779, however, he resigned his commission on the ground of broken health and ceased to be a soldier.

Burr turned to the law, and in 1782 he was admitted to the bar at Albany. He secured a large practice with great rapidity. In 1782, at the age of twenty-six, he married the widow of an English officer, Mrs. Theodosia Prevost, who was ten years his senior and had five children. One child, Theodosia, was born of the marriage. The marriage was happy on the whole, although there were outbreaks of petulance and temper on the part of Burr. The year after his marriage he emigrated from Albany to the larger field of New York, where he devoted himself to his profession zealously for eight years, and secured an outstanding position, with no rival but Alexander Hamilton. Wandell, the biographer of Burr, draws a comparison between the two:

'Of the two, Hamilton was perhaps the more profound, the more erudite, the more long-winded; Burr the more superficial, the more concise, and the more successful. When they met, as they often did, on opposite sides of a case, it was Hamilton who had to look to his laurels, to fortify himself against defeat. It was Burr who could say as much in half an hour as it took Hamilton two hours to establish.'

After the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the people were divided into two sections. On the one hand there were the federalists, who favoured a strong central government, and, on the other, the republicans who stressed the rights of the individual states. Hamilton belonged to the former party and Burr to the latter. In 1789 Burr was sufficiently influential in his profession to be appointed

Attorney-General of New York. In 1791 he became a candidate for the Senate of the United States against General Philip Schuyler, the father-in-law of Hamilton, and defeated him. Hamilton was furious at Burr's success. Up till that time the two men had been friends, working together in the law courts, mixing in the same social circles, and associated in numerous business enterprises. But with the defeat of Schuyler all friendship and co-operation between the two former friends was ended. Burr gained an implacable enemy, a ruthless opponent, and a jealous and constant calumniator. Every step in Burr's career, according to Hamilton, proved that he had formed himself upon the model of Catiline. 'No engagement made with him can be depended upon while making it,' said Hamilton. 'The first moment it suits his views to break it he will do so.' Burr was, in the eyes of his enemy, a man of extreme and irregular ambition, and artful and intriguing to an inconceivable degree. Hamilton said that he felt it to be a religious duty to oppose his career.

In May, 1794, Burr's wife died of cancer. By her death he lost an influence for good and a devotion and a domestic happiness which might, if his wife had lived, have prevented many fatal things that later came to pass. After 1794 he gave much attention to the education of his daughter, Theodosia. She was a woman of rare charm, and father and daughter were united by a bond of the closest affection. He loved her passionately, while she gave him a devotion little short of idolatry. He trained her mind in accordance with his own ideal of womanhood, which was far in advance of the American ideal of the time. In her tenth year she read Horace and Terence in Latin, spoke French, and was studying the Greek grammar. She grew up to be a highly accomplished and brilliant woman. After her mother's death in 1794 she became mistress of her father's house and companion of his leisure.

For six years Burr served in the Senate with conspicuous ability, acting steadily with the anti-federal party. But in

1797 the tide turned against him, and General Schuyler, his former antagonist, was almost unanimously elected to his old seat in the Senate. Burr did not, however, allow the rebuff to slacken his energies, and he entered into the presidential contest of 1800 with great zeal and vigour. The party to which Burr belonged triumphed, but between the two highest candidates, Jefferson and Burr, there was a tie. This deadlock threw the election into the House of Representatives, which, after a fierce struggle of seven days, elected Jefferson president and Burr vice-president.

As the end of Burr's period as vice-president approached, he found he was losing his popularity. Wandell has drawn a picture of him at this time, which helps to explain why his popularity declined.

'The gentleman was thought by many of his contemporaries to be a little too shrewd, a little too sharp, a little too slippery. He was always in debt, always evading, always contriving; one hesitated to accept his offers of bail; one preferred not to be his bondsman. There was lacking in him some essential principle of stability, some fundamental instinct of honesty, some necessary element of sincerity. He did not convince. He left one dubious, apprehensive, skeptical; one remembered things afterwards; one could never be quite sure. What did he really mean? What was he really thinking? What had he really done? So conscious of his honour, so confident of his character, so superior to suspicion—but still he inspired distrust, he aroused misgiving, he occasioned rumour. He invited slander and accumulated calumny. His name was weighted with connotations, his private behaviour was a public scandal. His sails were trimmed to the winds of opportunity, he darkened the threshold of lobbies, he was never absent at the fortunate moment. His integrity could be discussed. He was too much given to secrecy, too deeply engrossed in mystery, too great an adept at intrigue. His mind was too conversant with duplicity, too readily acquiescent to falsehood, too perfected in hypocrisy. His very generosity was too often only the impulse of a deceptive prodigality. Always in need of money, always in search of fame, he was never the sponsor of any cause except his own. Bereft of emotion, he was ruled by interest rather than conviction. Under the surface of a bewildering promise there lay hidden the shabbiness of a surpassingly deceitful nature.'

To recover his decaying prestige Burr became a candidate for the office of Governor of New York, but was defeated by Morgan Lewis. In this election, Hamilton, eager to thwart

and baffle his enemy, threw himself into the struggle as a supporter of Lewis. Hamilton did not fail in the course of the battle to express unflattering opinions about Burr, which got into the Press. Angry with a rival whom nothing would placate, Burr challenged Hamilton to fight a duel. At first Hamilton sought to avoid extremities and a lengthy correspondence took place between the two. But Burr was persistent and the two men met on the banks of the Hudson at seven in the morning of July 7, 1804. Hamilton fell mortally wounded at the first fire. Burr left the field with the brand of Cain for ever stamped upon his brow. The tragedy created so much horror that Burr thought it wise to fly. A coroner's jury found a verdict of murder, and the unhappy man escaped to South Carolina, where he took refuge with his daughter. An indictment for murder was obtained against him, but the excitement gradually subsided and he was left unmolested. In the end he returned to Washington and completed his term of office as vice-president.

Burr's character, although he did not realize it, was utterly blasted. He came to be regarded as an outcast and a pariah. But his courage and determination prevented him from accepting the verdict of a hostile world. Early in 1805 he turned his attention towards the great unknown west for a suitable field for his efforts and ambition. He formed a project for collecting a body of followers and establishing in Mexico an empire, of which he was to be the ruler. He bought a vast tract of land on Washita River, for which he undertook that the sum of forty thousand dollars should be paid, as a place of settlement for his followers. He hoped that the Western States would fall away from the Union, and would accept him as their ruler, with New Orleans as the capital of the new State.

His dream of establishing a Mexican empire seems a wild one but he undoubtedly cherished it. 'I did hope to establish an empire in Mexico,' he said in his last years, 'and to become its emperor.' If soldiers like Bonaparte and Bernadotte and

Murat could become monarchs, he may have thought, why should not he? Nor was he the only one who was attracted by the *ignis fatuus* of a Mexican empire. In 1822 the Mexican General, Iturbide, proclaimed himself Emperor as Agustin the First, and forty-two years after him the Archduke Maximilian of Austria tried to set up an empire and paid for his attempt with his life. Even so shrewd and clear-sighted a man as the Duc de Morny, half-brother of Napoleon the Third and President of the Corps Legislatif of France, expressed his readiness to accept the Mexican throne, if Maximilian refused it.

Burr's plans were approaching completion when the president, who had been aware of what was maturing, issued a proclamation in October 1806 denouncing the scheme and warning the people against it. With the President's decisive step the bubble burst, and Burr was arrested. He escaped, but was again arrested, and conveyed to Richmond, in Virginia, where he was tried for treason. The trial began on May 22, 1807, and lasted, with some interruptions, for six months, and created a widespread interest. In the end Burr was acquitted. It is interesting to know that Washington Irving was retained as one of the counsel for Burr.

After the trial, which did not rehabilitate his character in the least, Burr went to England. He was still animated by new hopes and dreams, but he was able to effect nothing. He had a great scheme for emancipating Mexico from Spain with the assistance of England, but he failed to persuade the English Ministers. Joseph Bonaparte became King of Spain just when Burr arrived in England. The British Government sided with the legitimate and dethroned monarch, and refused to join in the plots against him. Burr saw Canning and Castlereagh but was unable to do anything with them.

While in Europe Burr kept a journal which was intended for the perusal of his daughter. At first it was merely a few rough notes of his travels, but it was ultimately extended into a faithful transcript of his daily life. He lived for a



time in London at number thirty Craven Street—a shabby street near Charing Cross which now consists of offices and private hotels and is doomed to demolition at no distant date. Burr saw a great deal of Jeremy Bentham and constantly expressed the highest opinion of his intellect and character. 'He is,' said Burr, in his earlier days in London, 'the most intimate friend I have in this country and my constant associate.' Yet when Burr gave Bentham an account of his duel with Hamilton, and said he was sure of being able to kill him, Bentham's comment was, 'I thought it little better than a murder.' Burr met Bentham's friends, Dumont and Romilly. He dined at Holland House. He went to Edinburgh, visiting Oxford and Stratford-on-Avon by the way. He saw many distinguished people in the Northern capital. He met Walter Scott, and Jeffrey, and McKenzie. He met the famous Duchess of Gordon, who said many civil things to him, several times, and once at Dornbeck's Hotel, 'elle seule.' He met Henry Erskine's niece, 'M'lle Erskine, daughter of the late Chancellor—the form, the eyes, the hair, and manner of Theodosia.' In February, 1809, he wrote to Theodosia:

'The time passed at Edinburgh was a continued round of dissipation, dinners, suppers, balls, routs. Edinburgh is the most hospitable and social place I have been in. They meet to amuse and be amused and they succeed . . . Of the distinguished characters with which this place (Edinburgh) abounds, you will be most solicitous to hear of the literary men; and of these, perhaps, particularly McKenzie, author of the *Man of Feeling*, &c., and Scott, author of the *Minstrel*, &c. I met both frequently, and from both received civilities and hospitalities. McKenzie . . . is remarkably sprightly in company; amiable, witty, might pass for forty-eight, though certainly much older. Scott, with less softness than McKenzie, has still more animation; talks much and very agreeably. May be about forty.'

In April, 1809, Burr was expelled from Great Britain as a person 'embarrassing' to the Government, and crossed over to Sweden. After five months in Sweden he went to Copenhagen and then to Hamburg. Hamburg was frequented by many Americans, merchants, captains, travellers and others

but they were universally hostile to him. He applied for leave to go to France, but was kept waiting for weeks and became so destitute of resources that he had to pawn his pencil for lack of the sous wherewith to pay the toll of a bridge. While in Germany he met Niebuhr, not yet a historian, and attended an evening party at Goethe's house in Weimar. He became a *persona grata* at the ducal courts of Weimar and Gotha.

In February, 1810, Burr got to Paris. Here he expected to find friends for he had entertained many distinguished Frenchmen at his house in New York. Talleyrand, Louis Phillippe, afterwards King of the French, and Jerome Bonaparte, afterwards King of Westphalia, had all enjoyed his hospitality. He was treated like a pariah in Paris as rigidly as elsewhere. As Napoleon, who had originally been hostile to the independence of the Spanish-American colonies, had ceased his opposition, Burr tried to get access to him, in order to interest him in his old project about Mexico. But Napoleon never received him, and all his efforts were in vain. When Burr applied for an interview with Talleyrand in 1810 the French minister told the messenger, 'Say to Colonel Burr that I will receive him to-morrow, but tell him also that General Hamilton's likeness always hangs over my mantel.' Burr did not call on him.

After five months of useless effort, he applied for a passport to go to America. His request was refused, and again he had to spend months and months of ceaseless effort to secure permission to return to his native country. He suffered great privation in Paris. He lived in the cheapest lodgings, and speaks of suffering much from cold. The bitterest ingredient in his trials was the difficulty of correspondence with his daughter. Nearly a year passed without his receiving a letter from her, and nearly a year without her hearing from him. Sometimes he could not pay the postage of his letters to his child. It is interesting to find that in the general boycott he had one real friend in Mrs. Robertson, the widow of the Scots historian.

Having at length got leave to depart for America he sailed in October, 1811, from Amsterdam, which was under the control of the French. The ship in which he sailed was seized by a British frigate and taken into Yarmouth. Burr came back to London, and was obliged to remain for several months in England. At last he did succeed in getting back to the United States, and in May, 1812, reached Boston. Assuming the name of Arnot, he entered the city disguised with a wig, false whiskers and strange garments. The Government prosecutions still hung over him, and some of his creditors had executions against him which rendered him liable to imprisonment. He was not molested, however, and eventually settled in New York.

Burr resolved to return to his old profession of the law, and he opened an office in New York. Some of his former friends and associates rallied round him, and it looked as if life still had something to offer, when two crushing blows assailed him. His only grandson, Theodosia's son, aged eleven, died, and in January, 1813, Theodosia herself perished at sea while sailing from Charleston to New York to meet him. After these misfortunes Burr was a broken man. His ability and knowledge of law secured for him a considerable practice, but he was not a *persona grata* in general society and was ostracised by many of his contemporaries. At the age of seventy-eight he married Madame Jumel, the widow of a wealthy French merchant. In early life Madame Jumel had been known as Betsy Bowen and had been very beautiful but very disreputable. She was fifty-seven when she married Burr. She was ill-bred, ill-tempered, and eccentric almost to insanity. The marriage was, of course, unhappy, and Burr was divorced by his wife a year after they were united. In his last days Burr was dependent on the charity of a Scots woman, a friend of former years, for a home. He died in September, 1836, at Port Richmond, Staten Island, and was buried by his own wish in the cemetery at Princeton, near his father and grandfather.

Burr was fortunate in possessing in Theodosia a daughter of rare devotion and beauty of character. The story of her love for her father is full of pathos and tenderness, and recalls the love of Cicero and Tullia. Through all his misfortunes Theodosia clung to her unhappy father with unbroken fidelity. The qualities and characteristics which repelled other people did not repel her. She knew of his wild dream to make himself monarch of Mexico, yet she believed in him. When Burr was exiled in Europe, unable to get home and harassed by destitution and disappointment, she tried to get money for him. In August, 1809, she wrote to him:

'I witness an extraordinary fortitude with new wonder at every new misfortune. Often, after reflecting on this subject, you appear to me so superior, so elevated above all other men; I contemplate you with such a strange mixture of humility, admiration, reverence, love and pride, that very little superstition would be necessary to make me worship you as a superior being, such enthusiasm does your character excite in me. When I afterwards revert to myself, how insignificant do my best qualities appear. My vanity would be greater if I had not been placed so near you, and yet my pride is our relationship. I had rather not live than not be the daughter of such a man.'

Perhaps it is a sufficient justification of his whole life that he should have been the father of such a daughter.

Burr was a man of ingratiating charm, perfect manners, charged with grace, intellect and taste, apt in courtesy, rich in fascination. All women adored him. Flattery was his magic. Hamilton's grandson, in his *Intimate Life of Alexander Hamilton*, quotes a description of Burr's fascination by one who remembered him.

'Two very distinguished men of our State, who were much noticed by him when quite young, have told me of his rare attraction. When I inquired in what it consisted, one of them replied, "In his manner of listening. He seemed to give your thoughts so much value by his manner of receiving and to find so much more meaning in your words than you had intended; no flattery was more subtle.'"

Burton T. Beach gives a description of him in later life.

'His expression was sad and melancholy, yet the features were mobile, and when addressing ladies . . . the smile around his mouth was literally beautiful, and his eyes would lose their piercing look,

and become tender and gentle. . . . His elocution in conversation was perfect . . . his language was terse, almost epigrammatical . . . his words were always the most apt that could be used . . . his manners were polished, his motions graceful and easy, yet he never . . . lost his noble and dignified bearing . . . In a bearing and presence which you felt to be something beyond other men, with character in every motion and expression.'

With all his charm, Burr was resolute and courageous to a remarkable degree. *Suaviter in modo sed fortiter in re*. Only a man of unusually strong character could have faced a hostile world as he did for so many years. On the morning of the duel with Hamilton he was found by a friend in a sound sleep. Perhaps the soundness of his sleep was due to lack of concern about the result of the duel. His remark to Bentham that he was sure of killing Hamilton has already been quoted. Burr's relations with women were loose and dissolute. He was licentious in his habits and an adept in intrigue. He had several illegitimate children, including a daughter born when he was seventy-eight.

The verdict of Wandell on Burr's career is that, if Burr had been allowed to gratify his vanity and to play a prominent part on the public stage, he would never have been dangerous. In the chair of authority with the opportunity of impressive self-display and surrounded by publicity he would have been satisfied and played up to the requirements of his position. 'Lofty aspirations which continually meet with failure,' says Nietzsche, 'ultimately turn to evil.' Hamilton's hostile attitude towards Burr was a blunder. Burr would probably have made a good President and a distinguished figure in the history of his country. 'It was only when he was cast adrift,' says Wandell, 'when he was no longer given a stage upon which to play his roles, when the reservoir of his energies began to overflow for lack of any appropriate outlet, it was then that he became dangerous.'

J. A. LOVAT-FRASER.



## THE PHILOSOPHY OF JOHN LOCKE

**O**NE of England's greatest philosophers—John Locke—was born at Wrington, in Somersetshire, on August 29, 1632. His boyhood was spent at his home in Pensford. He was brought up by his father, an attorney and man of parts, on somewhat puritanical lines. The Puritans were then in the ascendant. In 1646 he entered Westminster School, and only six years later he won a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford. He had a strong distaste for the educational methods of the University, and spent a great deal of his time reading romances. It is not to be thought that this was a flagrant misuse of valuable time. Genius is more or less a law unto itself; it follows its own light, and in the end wins through. Locke, in his own heterodox way, worked hard, and was rewarded with a life studentship at his own college.

It is always a difficult task to say definitely what were the principal factors in determining the special bent of a great man's genius. Locke's life was at this time filled with great intellectual activity. He had not yet found himself. He read Descartes, and this may have given an impulse to his inquiring mind. He also lectured on Greek and Rhetoric, and studied Medicine. Medicine appealed to his strongly practical and concrete mind. In an age when Pragmatism was unknown, Locke was, unconsciously, a Pragmatist.

Locke's medical knowledge proved of great value to himself, for his constitution was not a robust one, and he suffered from asthma, and, in later years, from a chronic form of consumption. In 1666 he made the acquaintance of Lord Ashley—the Earl of Shaftesbury—and became an inmate of his household. He had the satisfaction of saving his patron's life by a difficult operation. Through his association with the Earl, who was deeply involved in political intrigues, he became an object of suspicion. He defeated his enemies, however, by leading 'a very cunning,

unintelligible life,' and finally crossed over to Holland, where he remained undisturbed until the accession of William Third. The famous *Essay on the Human Understanding* was published along with his *Treatise of Governments* in 1690. The first *Letter on Toleration* had appeared during the previous year.

The last years of Locke's life were spent with his friends, Sir Francis and Lady Masham, in their rural home at Oates in Essex. In this peaceful retreat the old man replied to criticisms on his *Essay*. In addition he wrote his *Treatise on Education* as well as the *Reasonableness of Christianity*. He died on October, 28, 1704. His will directed that his funeral should be as inexpensive as possible, so that the money saved might be given to the poor of the parish.

In dealing with the life-work of a great man of genius, especially when that man is a philosopher, one must take into account all the circumstances that went to the fostering of his genius. For the genius especially is a microcosm of the macrocosm. He gathers to a focus all the influences of his time, and centres them in his own personality.

And not the least of these influences in Locke's case were the political and the religious. There was a very strong strain of Puritanism in his nature. The Puritanism of his time had been rendered hard, and narrow, and intolerant by the religious persecutions of the reign of James the Second. Hence Locke's strong defence of freedom of religious worship. A Church, he says, 'is a voluntary society of men joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshipping of God, in such a manner as they judge acceptable to Him and effectual to the salvation of their souls.'

It is self-evident that religion and morality must be spontaneous and voluntary, otherwise the terms themselves are meaningless. No outside authority can make a man either religious or moral. The magistrate has no jurisdiction here. He can interfere only when worship or doctrine brings the Church or its members into conflict with the good of the

civil society. This teaching is altogether in harmony with modern opinion. Locke excludes the Roman Catholic simply because he thinks that the Catholic may be influenced in his civil relations by obedience to an external authority.

He also excludes Atheists because he thinks that unbelief renders a man unfit for civil life. We have modified our opinion with regard to Roman Catholics, believing as we now do, that we must carry the principle of liberty to a complete logical conclusion. As for the Atheist, we are now convinced that formulæ, in themselves, do not constitute an *a priori* argument for spiritual-mindedness.

The Revolution raised again, in an acute form, the constitutional problem. The right of the people to choose their own ruler or rulers, and the question of the ultimate sovereignty of the people, were problems that were clamant for some kind of discussion and settlement. Locke's political doctrine (hence its historical, as distinguished from its philosophical, importance) had for its aim the establishment of the throne of William on the consent of the people. The political doctrine of Hobbes, on the other hand, in the *Leviathan*, aimed at the vindication of the Divine right of the Stuarts.

Both were writers and thinkers of the first rank. Hobbes had the more forceful and appealing style. His conception of the sovereign as the 'person' or bearer of the rights of the Commonwealth is superior to that of Locke. The body politic is for Locke, the aggregate of consenting individuals. He hardly ever attains to a unitary conception of sovereignty. None the less Locke was a careful and systematic thinker, and his influence has reached down to our time. This influence has been, on the whole, for good. As Locke's political doctrine is, in many respects, more in harmony with the spirit of our time, it will be profitable for us to examine, in some detail, the main principles of his life's teaching.

The conscience of the Puritan was strongly individualist. He stood alone, face to face with his God—a God whom he

feared rather than loved. His was a God far removed from the kindly traffickers in the dusty ways of life. This God gradually hardened into an idol, and men lost interest in him. So was born the religion of Deism—the religion of an absentee God—and Pope was able to declare, in later times, in his shallow, smart way:

. . . . . Presume not God to scan,  
The proper study of mankind is man.

This individualism was strongly reflected in the political philosophy of the time. The organic conception of Society was one outside the vision of that century. Each individual was a unit, independent of his fellows, and extremely jealous of his independence. In some hypothetical 'state of Nature'—'nasty, brutish, short,' says Hobbes—these individuals came together and agreed to hand over their rights and privileges as free men in order to form a Society. They made a Pact—they called it a Contract—to live together. This is the well-known 'Social Contract.'

This conception has proved a stumbling-block to many a perfervid enthusiast. Let it be said at once that Locke has no illusions as to the real meaning and content of this conception. There is no Golden Age in the Past—Hobbes was right in this—the Golden Age, if such a conception can be realized, lies in the Future. Liberty is only found in an organized Society. Society is logically anterior to the individual.

Locke is quite clear on this point. He very acutely says that naturally enough the state of Nature eludes our historical search, for 'government is everywhere anterior to records.' Early peoples are actually found already under paternal government, the head or father of the group being chosen as the fittest to govern. There is a natural tendency of the human mind to go back to simple beginnings, and to attempt to explain everything in terms of these. There is a pronounced tendency in modern times to explain everything in terms of its elements. Modern Science proceeds by this method. The method may be extremely useful in a Science

like chemistry, but the conception cannot legitimately be applied to human beings in Society. It cannot adequately explain the human being apart from Society; he is more or less of an abstraction. All beginnings are more or less of the nature of abstractions. The origin of a thing does not explain the nature of the thing. It is truer to say that its end explains its origin. Society does not grow by accretion.

This atomistic method of thought is to be found running through all Locke's work. In his political theory his individuals are hard, impenetrable, little bodies, like the monads of Leibnitz. The difficulty in all such atomistic theories of Society is to explain how these isolated atoms can ever be brought into relationship. Relations between social beings are not external and mechanical, like the couplings of railway carriages; they are internal and of the mind.

In the same way, Locke, in his famous *Essay*, puts his physical objects, like so many isolated bodies, into the external world. He does not even attempt to explain externality itself. He takes the final result of analytic thought as the explanation of the constitution of the mind. His conception of mind as 'tabula rasa,' or a dark cabinet, in which the reflection of objects is thrown on an illuminated screen, would be a convenient fiction, if it adequately represented the facts. But it does not. He only succeeds in confining the mind to a knowledge of representations of reality. Reality itself is divorced from the mind.

In this conception mind is purely passive. We know now that the mind is active, creative, and not passive. Ideas do not first come into being as isolated units, and then form themselves into various combinations in the mind. It is impossible for us now to take this view as a true account of the working of the mind. Modern science has cut this ground from under our feet by reducing all impressions on the organs of sense to forms of vibration.

Locke's doctrine takes the refined results of an ultimate analysis as the original elements of consciousness. To any one



with even a slight knowledge of psychology this whole doctrine is demonstrably false. There are no such things in the world of mind as sensations existing by themselves and then combining in various ways. We do not attain a piece of knowledge by first grasping each individual element, and then combining all these separate elements into an organic whole. We first vaguely apprehend the whole, and then make that whole distinct in its elements by discriminative analysis. All knowledge advances in adult life by an increase in definiteness.

It is not difficult to see the implications of Locke's philosophical doctrines when they are applied to educational theory. A theory of pedagogy has been built on them. The need for individual education is a cardinal principle with Locke. He looked at education from the point of view of the medical man. This, undoubtedly, was a great advance on the methods of the Grammar Schools which were still bound by Renaissance methodology. The *Essay* made individual experience the central theme of thought. The *Thoughts concerning Education* was altogether concerned with the individual pupil. All through the discussions in this book, he thinks of his pupils as a doctor thinks of his patients. But in Locke the combination of physician and pedagogue remained external. He kept body and mind separate as two distinct entities. Teacher and physician rarely meet in this book on a common ground. He had not yet discovered how close the connexion is between body and mind.

Another strange defect in this book is Locke's failure to see that any training of the senses is a matter for the teacher at all. This seems the more surprising because his whole philosophy is based on the assumption that the mind is dependent for its materials on the impressions made by objects on the senses. Yet the trend of Locke's thought seems to be in the right direction. In one passage he hits on a profound truth. 'There are not more differences in men's faces and the outward lineaments of their bodies,' he says,

'than there are in the makes and tempers of their minds.' He suggests no connexion, however, between these two things. But he does make the variations of individuality on the physical plane the key to the appreciation of individuality in mind and character.

We must give Locke the credit of being among the first educationists to proclaim clearly the necessity of freedom in education. There is not another educationist, until we come to Rousseau, who insists so emphatically on freedom as an essential in education.

The philosophers after Locke were all influenced by his teaching. Berkeley refined away his external world and left only a world of ideas. There was no need for Reality and representations of Reality at one and the same time. Either the mind came into direct touch with reality by way of thought, or it did not. The stuff of which the world was made had a mental structure, and was akin to the mind of man.

Hume threw doubt on the whole affair, and put his fingers through the web of causal connexion. He argued that cause and effect might only be a casual succession of events, arbitrarily connected in our own minds. So the whole ground had to be gone over again, and Kant attempted the work in his *Critique of Pure Reason*. Kant himself was not altogether free from infection by Locke's mistakes. This is proved by his doctrine of the 'thing in itself.'

Rousseau reacted to Locke's influence, and borrowed from him the fiction of the Social Contract. He improved on the theory, however, by importing into it the conception of the General Will. This brought us within sight of the organic conception of Society. Locke had never succeeded in getting beyond the conception of the Will of All—a purely individualistic conception.

The Utilitarian School of Bentham and the two Mills was influenced by him. Legislation in this country was influenced for the good by their teaching in the early part of the nineteenth century. The French Revolution itself was indirectly

brought about by Locke through Rousseau. Locke drafted, or helped to draft, the Constitutions of Carolina which appear to have been inoperative.

Locke is not an inspiring writer. He was a conscientious and systematic writer. He rarely inspires us with enthusiasm. Here and there are some phrases of quiet, and sometimes, pungent wit. Sometimes a quiet humour plays over his pages, and sometimes a courteous irony. Of imagination there is little, but there is a touch of tenderness and fancy.

Occasionally, however, one has the impression that there is a lambent glow in some of his pages, as though the writer could not repress a quiet satisfaction in his work as a searcher after truth. Professor Alexander has rather aptly described the character of his style as that of 'an inspired pedestrianism.'

Locke's political doctrine represents—in substance at any rate—the common sense of our political constitution as we now understand it. His greatest service to political liberty was perhaps rendered when the terms of the Declaration of American Independence were borrowed from his political treatise.

JOHN STEAD MCJARROW.

*The Re-Thought Theology of 'Re-Thinking Missions'* is a discussion by the Professor of Systematic Theology and the Philosophy of Religion at Drew University, of certain aspects of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry Report. Dr. Edwin Lewis expresses profound gratitude for certain things in the Report, but holds that another view of Christianity than that which it takes is possible—'a view that would make room for practically everything positive that the Report contains, but would contain certain vital elements that the Report omits.' The conviction that in Jesus Christ, God appeared in the temporal order as a God of love suffering to redeem His children, is the bedrock of all Christian expansion, but is not present in the Report in the unambiguous and compelling way we had a right to expect. It is a balanced and impressive criticism of a Report which is being keenly discussed in America.

## THE CRITICAL ATTITUDE OF T. S. ELIOT

WHEN Mr. A. E. Housman delivered his Leslie Stephen Lecture at Cambridge on May 9, 1933, he began by recalling some words of his own spoken in his inaugural lecture twenty-two years before. 'Whether the faculty of literary criticism is the best gift that Heaven has in its treasuries I cannot say; but Heaven seems to think so, for assuredly it is the gift most charily bestowed. Orators and poets, sages and saints and heroes, if rare in comparison with blackberries, are commoner than returns of Halley's comet: literary critics are less common.' Gifts sparingly given to men are inevitably of outstanding value, and when the great critic has appeared his influence has always been significant for its creative power. In wide-spreading circles the power has moved on to still more triumphant life. Great criticism has always had a power beyond its own immediate sphere, and far beyond the period of time which saw its rise. The criticism of Coleridge, for example, might have many faults; it could easily be described as fugitive and fragmentary, but these incidental facts count as nothing, for the seeds of greatness were there and of their fructifying power many movements since his day can bear witness. At the moment Mr. T. S. Eliot is our most prominent figure in the realm of criticism. A few years ago young men in the universities were accepting his judgements with the embarrassing avidity which youth offers to the oracles of the new gods, and although that attitude is now happily giving place to a more discriminating and considered acceptance, there seems little doubt that Mr. Eliot has stepped quite definitely into a place of authority in critical matters. Time will decide the question of greatness; the issue of contemporary influence is already decided, and that influence seems destined to continue for some years to come. In Mr. Eliot's view, Matthew Arnold was a propagandist for criticism rather than

a critic. How far that judgement will be true of himself cannot yet be decided, but at least his own propagandist power is obvious, and the critical theories he seeks to advance significant and vital enough. He knows the popular demand which says, 'We want, not principles but men,' and has refused to be intimidated thereby. In that refusal lies one secret of his significance for our time.

When we find Mr. Eliot spending his strength on Dante, or when we stumble on a passage like the following, we realize that here is fire in the soul. 'So far as we are human, what we do must be either evil or good; so far as we do evil or good, we are human, and it is better in a paradoxical way to do evil than to do nothing: at least we exist. It is true to say that the glory of man is his capacity for salvation; it is equally true to say that his glory is his capacity for damnation. The worst that can be said for the most of our malefactors, from statesmen to thieves, is that they are not men enough to be damned.' There is nothing merely doctrinaire in his attitude, and he can resent with some violence those elements in life and criticism which he finds unworthy or untrue. There is none of that facile acceptance of everything which in practice means a refusal to think deeply about anything. He shows an honourable readiness to come down into the arena, take his weapons and use them. It is not surprising that this generation should like the sense of reality and contemporary relevance it has found in his work. Mr. Eliot has no doubt that 'contemporary literature, like contemporary politics, is confused by the moment-to-moment struggle for existence' and that the relevant reply to such a period is a demand for an examination of principles. Much of his work is an attempt to work out the implications of this real demand. The moment-to-moment attitude is never really adequate to life's deep needs, however much it may soothe leisurely minds in not very vital moments. Its result is found quickly enough in fatigue of soul and a sense of futility, for life must have deep sources



and a rich background of cultural inspiration. The attempt to live by the moment must end in confusions and contradictions, a moral which life will point in ways as costly as they are disastrous. Symptoms of the disorder caused by limited vision may be seen not less clearly in our religion than in our poetry, in our morals not less than in our political theory. If the sense of the Eternal be obscured, life on all its planes will tend to be chaotic and unrestful. Religion may rightly use its own terminology to declare that fulness of spiritual life depends on some outlook towards the Eternal, but this has a much wider application, and art itself needs constantly to re-learn the secret lest it should decay into futilities, and the many and varied semblances of life.

The problem as criticism might state it, involves the relation of Tradition to the Individual Talent, and it is in this form that Mr. Eliot has set it out. Short distance thinking may tend to set individualism in too prominent a place, and in consequence the world, whether of poetry or religion finds anarchy rather than coherence. Against this he has flung down his challenge in terms so deliberately provocative that no modern theory of poetry can avoid the issue. Subjectivism has had many easy victories, but this generation may well ask what the victories have really achieved, and may become strangely serious when the essential losses begin to be computed. When any literary tendency becomes exaggerated, decay has already set in, and our time has witnessed the weakening of the romantic tradition. Romanticism now appears to have exhausted its first impulses, and we can measure the distance we have travelled by comparing the romantic emphasis with Mr. Eliot's uncompromising utterance, 'Poetry is not a turning loose of emotion, but an escape from emotion: it is not the expression of personality, but an escape from personality.' This is a stringent and salutary doctrine which could scarcely have arisen in this serious form except in a period when another tradition had run to seed and had become mischievous. Perhaps more

clearly than any other English writer, Mr. Eliot had noted the spiritual exhaustion of the romantic attitude, and has set himself to declare a theory of poetry which shall have vigour and modern relevance. How far Mr. Eliot's own poetry has satisfied or will satisfy the needs of the situation is open to question, but his critical work can never fail to have significance, because it registers a sensitive appreciation of the facts of the situation, and seeks to give poetry a new orientation and a new hold on life. It is not relevant here to discuss the reasons which have made romanticism wear so thin, but it is worth while to recall in passing that William Blake, in one of his strange moments of insight, saw how real the choice was between Wesley and Whitefield on the one hand, and on the other Voltaire and Rousseau 'frozen sons of the feminine Tabernacle of Bacon, Newton and Locke.' It is interesting to speculate on the difference it would have made to our national life, if the romantics had caught their fire from John Wesley rather than from Rousseau. Whatever interest that discussion may have especially for the Methodist people, the more immediate and practical issue is concerned with the way of recovery, and here Mr. Eliot's essay on Tradition and the Individual Talent is of essential importance. On his view tradition is not something easy and automatic, a blind or timid adherence to the successes of another generation, but something to be obtained with great labour. It must involve the historical sense for 'this historical sense, which is a sense of the timeless as well as of the temporal, and of the timeless and of the temporal together, is what makes a writer traditional. And it is at the same time what makes a writer most acutely conscious of his place in time, of his own contemporaneity.' The demand made on the poet is nothing less than 'depersonalization.' 'What happens is a continual surrender of himself as he is at the moment to something which is more valuable. The progress of an artist is a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality.' In a period which has grown bored by many fantastic

forms of self-expression here is a doctrine which at least has refreshing power in it. Discussion will, of course, fasten at once on the notion of 'depersonalization.' The word is evidently put there to draw the enemy's fire. The fact that a man of Mr. Eliot's intellectual distinction has used it deliberately ought to rule out at once the superficial judgement that this involves anything feeble or less than personality. Whether the word is fully adequate or not, Mr. Eliot did not mean anything so elementary as that. He illustrates his meaning from the realm of science, but Christian thinking need have no hesitation in following his guidance here, for the simplest forms of Christian experience have involved some degree of depersonalization, and the saints in particular have spoken terms which describe the higher reaches of personal power as conditioned thereby. It was a man of essential virility who talked quite naturally about the experience of 'dying daily.' As Mr. Eliot himself puts it, 'Only those who have personality and emotions know what it means to want to escape from these things.' In his critical studies of various writers these principles are vigorously employed. Much of his criticism deals with the period which may be described roughly as the seventeenth century, and quite obviously he is at home there, not less with the theologians than with the poets. Had he lived in that period he would probably have looked on its turbulent religious life as so many exhibitions of spiritual anarchy, and would have estimated them in much the same way as Lancelot Andrewes himself. Any seventeenth-century study involves some comparative estimate of Andrewes and Donne, and when Mr. Eliot attempts this he reveals himself in portraying them. At one point he describes three distinctive qualities of Andrewes as being 'ordannance, or arrangement and structure, precision in the use of words, and relevant intensity.' Against this he sets this judgement on Donne, 'About Donne there hangs the shadow of an impure motive, and impure motives lend their aid to a facile success. He is a little of the

religious spell-binder, the Reverend Billy Sunday of his time, the flesh-creeper, the sorcerer of emotional orgy. We emphasize this aspect to the point of the grotesque. Donne had a trained mind, but without belittling the intensity or the profundity of his experience, we can suggest that this experience was not perfectly controlled, and that he lacked spiritual discipline.' In Mr. Eliot literary criticism is intimately associated with a deep, religious preference definitely on the side of Anglo-Catholicism, and therefore Milton and Blake will provide him with interesting test cases. A young Oxford critic has pointed out that up to the present Mr. Eliot has only revealed the fact that he is quite out of sympathy with Milton, and has suggested that more than anything we want from him a careful and considered essay on Milton. This he feels would be Mr. Eliot's trial as a critic. If we may judge from his short essay on Blake, it may be doubted whether even an extended study of Milton would reveal much more than a fundamental lack of sympathy with the Puritan tradition in Milton. Himself a poet, he cannot overlook the great poetry in Blake, and admits 'the capacity for considerable understanding of human nature, with a remarkable and original sense of language and the music of language, and a gift of hallucinated vision.' What he resents in Blake is the old and ever new enemy—the unregulated subjectivism which lacks traditional discipline. Blake is a poet of genius, Dante is a classic. 'We have the same respect for Blake's philosophy (and perhaps for that of Samuel Butler) that we have for an inglorious piece of home-made furniture; we admire the man who has put it together out of the odds and ends about the house. England has produced a fair number of these resourceful Robinson Crusoes, but we are not really so remote from the Continent, or from our own past, as to be deprived of the advantages of culture if we wish them.'

It is a notable sign of the vitality and breadth of Mr. Eliot's interests that he has not failed to see the importance

of the issue raised by the humanistic tendencies which are finding so many eloquent expressions to-day. Humanism may be a somewhat nebulous term, but the various tendencies associated with it probably represent one of the most serious attacks on the Christian view, all the more insidious because there are so many elements in a genuine humanism with which few of us would like to find ourselves in opposition. The enemy may come to us offering gifts, and it is altogether necessary that there should be those who are clear-sighted enough to discern the enemy who may come in so pleasant a guise. Although Mr. Eliot's position in criticism owes much to Irving Babbitt, he has not refused to break with him at the point where Babbitt's philosophy clashes with supernatural religion. When he finds in that philosophy that the issue is being sharpened to religion and humanism presented as alternatives, he takes up the challenge with vigour. If humanism is set forth as an alternative he feels that it will be simply destructive, having no power to replace what it destroys. 'Any religion, of course, is for ever in danger of petrification into mere ritual and habit though ritual and habit be essential to religion. It is only renewed and refreshed by an awakening of feeling and fresh devotion, or by the critical reason. The latter may be the part of the humanist. But if so, then the function of humanism, though necessary, is secondary. You cannot make humanism itself into a religion.' Mr. Eliot can find no necessary opposition between the religious and the pure humanistic attitude, but he has done good service in showing the various impure forms which humanism may assume, and in showing the essential conflict between these and the Christian view.

ROBERT STRONG.



# Notes and Discussions

## A UNITED FREE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

THE signs of the times point to a much closer relationship between the various Free Churches of England, at no distant date, if not to the unification of those Churches in an organized body. In the religious Press and in the discussions of great denominational assemblies there is ample evidence of a widespread and urgent desire that the possibility of a United Free Church of England should be carefully and sympathetically explored. It is sometimes said that 'Union is in the air'; but this union of Free Church interests, resources, and powers is also in the brain and heart of some of the greatest leaders of the Free Churches. Moreover there is a growing feeling among the ministers, lay officials, and members of the respective Churches that changes, more or less drastic, are imperative if wastage through overlapping is to be avoided, and if the needs of the new communities that have been gathered since the war are to be adequately met.

The Federal Council of the Free Churches has given serious attention to this matter and, after hearing the views of representative leaders, has decided to investigate it further. If, however, the Union of these Churches is to be achieved the Free Church Councils will play a very important part. The ecclesiastical historian will attribute such an event to the quiet influence and effective service of the Councils during the past forty years. By removing the misunderstandings that separated the Churches and, to some extent, eliminating competition, promoting fraternization and fellowship among Free Church people, and by organizing social service and evangelistic campaigns in which all the Churches have co-operated, the Councils have prepared the way of the Lord. It is a signal tribute to the success of this movement that spiritual unity already exists, and that in aim and purpose and fellowship and worship they are already one. This explains why these proposals for organic union have evoked so much interest and support. That the mind of Christ may be discerned in these friendly relations all will admit, but who will say that the Free Church Council has reached its goal? If it has led the affiliated Churches to the stage where the question of corporate union emerges as a wise and possible achievement, why should it not still lead on?

The answer of some to this question will be: Let us make haste slowly, and there will be many in agreement with this attitude. English people, even English Free Church men and women, are singularly tardy in their acceptance of new ideas, and especially of innovations in the ecclesiastical order. There need be no dread of precipitate action. Such events move slowly and with caution.

It took several years to bring the different sections of the Methodist community together. We cannot fail to recognize that the proposed union of Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Baptists, is union on a different level and on a larger scale. Each of these Churches represents a distinctive denominational history and tradition; a different method of government and practice. While they have much in common, as their co-operation in the Free Church Councils testifies, they are diverse. Some of their differences are acute and vital. Again, it will be a unity of Churches which, generally speaking, are equally powerful in character, resources, and judgement; and in operations which are almost world-wide. Those who are conversant with Free Church history know that Presbyterians have exercised a potent influence in the religious life of this country. With an emphasis on the value of sound doctrine, the Church, the Ministry, orderliness of worship and connexional government, they have combined pulpit ministration and administrative gifts of the highest order. The selection and careful preparation of its ministry has been an example to all other Churches. The principle of freedom is held tenaciously by the Congregationalists. This is a part of their heritage, that would be a valuable contribution to the proposed United Church. It presents a fine challenge to tradition and priestly ideas by asserting that the way to truth is the way of liberty of mind under the guidance of the Spirit of God. It would save the proposed Church from rigid denominationalism by its emphasis upon simplicity in ecclesiastical arrangements and by its belief that the way to life and true fellowship, the marks of the ideal Church, is by groups of people gathered for worship and spiritual edification as moved by the Holy Spirit. That Baptists have much in common with Congregationalists is evident from the existence of Union Churches in which representatives of both communions have a place. It is often suggested that one of the chief difficulties in the way of Union will arise from the Baptist doctrine and practice of Baptism. They hold that the administration of the rite to candidates who are old enough to decide for themselves and who have been instructed so as to appreciate the significance and implications of this ordinance, has its sanction in New Testament teaching and practice. All Free Churchmen honour the Baptists for their fidelity to deep convictions, and the tenacity with which they have clung to these in face of argument and contention. It is, however, difficult to see why this ordinance should be an obstacle to union in these days of better understanding. Why may not the different forms of administration continue in the United Church?

The people called Methodists have achieved the Union of their Churches. Methodism has affinities with all the Free Churches in doctrine, discipline, administration, and outlook. On certain aspects of Christian truth Methodism has laid special emphasis, with effects that have advanced the Kingdom of God. The doctrine of grace 'which hath appeared, bringing salvation to *all* men'; the witness of the Spirit in Christian experience; and the possibility of perfect love, have been proclaimed with no uncertain sound. The grouping of

Churches in Circuits, the easy transference of ministers from Circuit to Circuit, and the administrative control by the Conference of all work at home and overseas, may suggest wise lines of policy, tested in a long experience, to those who formulate proposals for the suggested Union.

To bring these diverse, powerful, well organized and equipped communions into one comprehensive and harmonious Church is a task of great magnitude. Such a Union must conserve all that is valuable in each for the good of all, and ensure that the combined ministry shall accomplish greater and more effective work than the uniting Churches have been able to do when working apart. Those who urge that the way to Union should be explored, do not fail, in visualizing the task, to see how great the undertaking is, and the demand it makes upon the statesmanship of the Churches and the patience and sacrifice of loyal adherents. But if this is the will of God—with Him 'all things are possible.'

It must be made clear that what is desired is no mere clever ecclesiastical amalgamation or structure, achieved in a Committee by a process of reasoning, or by balancing a claim or a concession or a compromise. To group Churches locally or geographically, as the parts of a motor-car are assembled, is not the Union desired. It may be a constitution reflecting the skill and ingenuity of collective minds, imposing and impressive to those who are without by reason of numbers, wealth, machinery, and widespread organization, but 'greater things than these shall ye do.' The true Church of God is 'not made with hands,' it is formed in the deeper regions of the Spirit, where God works. A well conceived and fairly balanced constitution for such a Church may be of great importance, but it is not of primary importance. Our doctrine of the New Testament Church is surely that it was the development of the little fellowship of disciples who believed Jesus to be the Messiah of Israel, and that the organization of this group grew in response to demands of its task and needs. Ecclesiastical organizations and hierarchies and dogmatic formularies may assist, but they are not the real Christian thing, this is a way of life revealed in human personality and in human fellowship. If such Union is to come, it will be by obedience to some mighty, unanimous impulse of the Spirit of God in the hearts of those who see God in the face of Jesus Christ. Dr. Hutton, in a recent *British Weekly* article, made use of this quotation: 'I should not wonder if the Church wakes up and finds herself one.' Meanwhile the obvious duty is to reach out to more intimate fellowship and to closer co-operation.

Certain questions emerge that demand serious consideration.

(1) Can we, in view of this larger Union, relinquish our denominationalism? To lose identity is no mean sacrifice. To blot out the name that represents so much history and so many tender and hallowed associations is something akin to agony. Relics and memories of Church fellowship are sacramental. In our modern architecture we are prone to embody something reminiscent of the bygone periods of history. But should we not remember that the denominations

arose to secure certain things, and as a protest against ecclesiastical tyranny, religious bigotry and coercion, and that the victory won was complete and abiding? We do not minimize the importance of the things that differentiate the various Churches, but these differences are by no means so important as they appear, while our affinities are much more important and vital. Besides, in Church expansion we constantly arrive at points where denominationalism breaks down. The character of English towns and cities, and even the English countryside, has changed. The addition of large suburban areas on the outskirts of cities and towns has made the provision of new Church buildings a necessity; while many villages have, by increase of population, become urban areas or towns of considerable size, making it essential that the inadequate village church should be enlarged or replaced by a new building. It is acknowledged to be arrant folly for each denomination to provide additional accommodation. In many instances Committees representing all the Free Churches meet and decide which of the denominations shall undertake the responsibility. Shall it be Baptist or Congregational or Methodist? But the population includes members of all the Churches. Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists are mixed together. Is it fair to ask the members of these Churches to surrender their denominationalism if the leaders of the community refuse to consider the union implied in this local arrangement? The central areas and the slum districts of great towns and cities require the combined statesmanship and resources of all the Churches. With full appreciation of the efforts made, it cannot be claimed that a solution of this acute religious problem has yet been found. The withdrawal of our ministries, and the consequent desertion of these areas, is tragic, and a grave reflection upon the Churches that proclaim the gospel of Christ.

(2) Can we find a common basis in matters of belief? These are days of changing opinions. There are repeated requests for a re-statement of Christian belief. Modern science has challenged many things most surely believed, because they were found in the Bible, and has made belief in many truths still held more difficult. Certain old-time theories have perforce been abandoned, but there is no need to deplore the loss of anything that has been surrendered because it was not true. Revision of statement may be necessary and truth must be cast in new moulds. Yet the vital message of the Word of God is not only unimpaired, but expanded and enriched. The applications of its message are seen to run into every relation of life. It is not too much to claim that on the great doctrines of the Christian Faith there is no real divergence of belief, and on minor aspects of Biblical teaching there are no differences that cannot be met by Christian toleration.

(3) What form of organization or administrative government is such a Church likely to adopt? Canon Streeter, in his masterly survey of the formation of the Church in New Testament times, discussing the evolution of Church Order, quotes Newman's statement: 'Organization as well as doctrine developed as the reaction of the

living organism to environment.' Without evading an issue of immense importance to the life and effectiveness of the United Church it is impossible to present any detailed scheme. Only the most elementary suggestions and the barest outline are possible. Membership will include those who love our Lord in sincerity and gather in the Church for worship and service. The Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper will be observed as heretofore, allowing each Church and Minister to determine the form the observance shall take. The ministry of the Word and the Sacraments shall be exercised by (i) Ministers who accept the office as a Divine Vocation and are fully ordained by the Church through its leaders, and (ii) Lay Preachers who, while following a secular calling, are duly qualified and authorized for this work. The titles given to officers of the Church in the different denominations vary considerably, though it will be found that the functions exercised are, especially in individual Churches, practically the same. Elders, deacons, stewards, pastors, leaders, are important officials whose work may become still more responsible in the larger Church. The Pastorate and the Circuit may still exist side by side under Union, as they have in some branches of Methodism. It must not be overlooked that some approximation to the Circuit system has been a necessary policy in the Churches where pastorates are the rule. The determination of District boundaries for Synods, Union gatherings, Presbyteries, may well be left for subsequent deliberation, along with the nature and functions of the Annual Assembly or Conference.

Fears will arise lest so large an aggregate of members, with thousands of ministers and tens of thousands of lay preachers and officials, with millions of members, will be unwieldy. Why such fears? District or County organizations can each administer affairs within their own province, and still be associated in matters of finance, ministerial arrangements, institutional movements, and connexional affairs with the Church as a whole. The experience of Union in Australia, Canada, and the United States of America leaves little doubt as to the practicability of Union even on the large scale contemplated in these suggestions.

It will be observed that the Union contemplated is that of Churches described as 'Free.' The spirit of unity that creates friendly relations between clergy of the Anglican Church and ministers of the Free Churches is cordially welcomed and appreciated, but union of the nature contemplated here could not be attempted with a Church which, on one side of it, is part of the State. Let the friendly relations, and all possible co-operation, continue by all means, but our Free Church life, interests, resources, and activities need to be co-ordinated and unified, so that the witness to an independent, voluntary, and spiritual Church may flourish in our land, and exercise influence in other lands. The aim of the United Church must be to reach and evangelize the multitudes of men and women who are unreached at present by any Christian Church, as well as to train believers in the deep things of God. If some scheme like the parish system of the



Anglican Church, whereby the people of every neighbourhood can be put under the pastoral care of some minister of the Free Church, could be devised it would be a worthy achievement. One weakness of the present situation is that ministers are grouped in towns and cities, leaving many village churches without pastoral care.

Is this Union of the Free Churches the will of God? Many believe that it is, and that He is working His purpose out by bringing the leaders to realize that if the needs of men and women in the present condition of the world are to be met, Christian people must stand together, united in spirit and aim, and in effort also. Perhaps to those who doubt the wisdom of this movement there will come some other revelation of God's will, and of some other means by which that will shall be accomplished. It matters not to the loyal servants of God by what methods the end is achieved if only the Kingdom of God be established.

JOHN SWINDEN.

### IS CAPITALISM CHRISTIAN?

Is capitalism in keeping with Christianity? There are those who sincerely believe that capitalism is the opposite of socialism, that Christianity is socialism, and that, therefore, capitalism cannot be Christian. But they are wrong. As well might it be argued that grain is the opposite of water, that health is dependent on water and that, therefore, grain is inimical to health. It would be a poor reasoning that overlooked the fact that, combined with other things, grain and water can be made into very good bread.

There is more socialism in capitalism, and more capitalism in socialism, than is admitted by the protagonists of either. To any one who, as things are, violently supports neither the one nor the other but proceeds through life along lines dictated by common sense, it is fairly obvious that the two things are not *opposed* but are merely different expressions of very similar elements. Be that as it may, the admitted capitalistic basis of modern society, whatever its faults, is far from being un-Christian. The civilization that obtained in Robinson Crusoe's island was not greatly different in kind and character from that which obtains in this country to-day. It was composed of the same original elements. The ship-wrecked sailor and his man Friday used the means at their command to obtain the food and shelter they needed; and if, as time and experience guided them, they sought to improve the quality and the quantity of their food and the durability and comfort of their shelter, they did only on a small scale what capitalists are now doing on a large one. Let it be remembered, however, that our consideration is confined to the basis and is not, at present, concerned with the various manifestations of modern capitalism. The basis of the existing capitalistic system is the provision of the means of living; and it is

true to add that that basis is not peculiar to the human species. Whether we are considering the conditions of two human beings on an otherwise uninhabited island, or those of the forty-two millions who inhabit our own island, the original and essential elements of continued existence are the same, viz., food and shelter. And these have been supplied, in the raw state, by a beneficent Creator who expects His creatures to dig and dive and climb and hunt for them. His gifts of sunlight and water may be the commonest but they are by far the greatest things in the world. The Malthusian theories of the eighteenth century are exploded largely because it is recognized that God had seen to it that human sense and ingenuity, combined with the other qualities that go to the making of the cleverness of man, should be sufficient to prevent starvation from over-population. What the people *need*, however numerous they may be in any one centre of population, is to be had; and it is significant that when one mineral 'gives out' another is found; when one motive force runs thin or proves unsuitable, another is discovered and applied; and science (the application of man's common sense) is for ever coming to the aid of a needful world.

If it be agreed that the basis of modern capitalism is in no-wise different from a primitive search for food and shelter, and that to use the means at their command is not essentially wrong on the part of our 'capitalists' (using the word, for the moment, as meaning those who besides other means have money however small or large in quantity), there is little need to proceed to inquire whether the use of means is Christian. 'God shall supply all your need' has as much foundation in fact as in faith. John Ruskin's famous instance of the preciousness of the Wolverhampton mud if, separated, its elements were subjected by man to certain conditions, occurs at once to the mind as shewing how extremely and wonderfully adaptable human ingenuity can become. But such adaptability requires the application of science; and whereas 'money isn't everything, there are not many things which may be had without it.' Hence, the use of monetary means—whether in the purchase of a house in which to live or a factory in which to produce goods for sale—is not, in itself, wrong; and in so far as it is done in an *other-regarding* sense, it is definitely and indisputably Christian.

Modern capitalism, however, is not altogether, or even in any appreciable measure, *other-regarding*; and this is where it is wrong, where 'socialists' find good cause for quarrel, and where a decided departure from Christianity occurs.

The state of things can hardly be better expressed, on the ideal side, than by the Rev. Malcolm Spencer (Secretary of the Christian Social Council) who speaks—in his book *Building on Sand*—of 'the sin of investing money without the utmost possible attempt to secure that it is used in concerns that are socially advantageous in every direction, securing for their human instruments conditions of reward which make possible a decent standard of living and conditions of work which tend to their personal education; securing for the public

a product that is socially desirable, and seeing that the prosperity of the concern is not won at the cost of ruin to a rival firm or class of people.' This is a 'hard saying,' no doubt; but as an ideal it should receive the earnest consideration of all members of the Christian Church who have money to invest.

But between the realization of such an ideal and the actual practice there lies a whole field of Christian endeavour in the economic world that requires, and will perhaps one day receive, the exploration it deserves. For many years, the Christian principle has been at work in capitalism, making it more and more to conform to the high standards of an enlightened age. From the later eighteenth century to the present time there has been a 'humanizing' tendency in all industry and commerce. That 'the people' should be adequately fed, clothed and housed; that they should be educated; that they should be cared for when, in their declining years they are unable to care for themselves; that those who are unemployed should receive insurance and transitional benefits; that disabled ex-soldiers should receive pensions; and that widows' and orphans' claims should not be ignored—these are a few of the social services rendered by the State, i.e. 'by the people for the people'; and the fact that the country was content to spend no less than 463 million pounds in one year (1930) alone, is evidence of the social impulse which underlies all our activities including those of our capitalistic system. But, more than this, there are many firms whose avowed policy is one of mutual helpfulness. Robert Owen lived in advance of the times in which we live. There are many 'Robert Owens' to-day, but just as the State is spending twenty times more at the present time on 'social services' than forty years ago,<sup>1</sup> so the impulse (of which that is an expression) has been at work under and behind the capitalistic system of the last forty years.

It may be said that much of the 'humanizing' tendency in industry and commerce has been due to legislation. True, but behind the legislation lies the public opinion that produced it. And for people employed in trade and industry the same kind of public opinion has resulted in benefits that have no legislative support. Further, there is a public opinion—greater, far, than we might be prepared to admit—that 'seeks not its own,' and when that kind of *other-regarding* opinion gets its way in a trading concern, a manufacturing business, &c., the 'social services' of the community concerned are almost too numerous to count.

Capitalism is not only Christian in its basic idea, but it is becoming more and more Christian in its basic idealism. Our conclusion, therefore, is that capitalism is not anti-Christian, that it is not altogether or even in very large part un-Christian, and that it is in many of its manifestations decidedly Christian. Let us recognize the ideal: that if God has given us means above those of our fellows—whether of a monetary kind or not (for there is a capitalism of intellect and of time as well as of money)—we ought rather to think of our fellow creatures

<sup>1</sup> £22,645,000 in 1890; £463,320,000 in 1930.

than of ourselves when planning the use of those means. Every penny we own; every special talent we possess; every intellectual attainment that is ours; every opportunity that comes knocking at our door importunately seeking an entrance into our life; every tide in our affairs which is taken by us at the flood—all, everything, is a trust from God our Maker. Are we capitalists? Let us see to it that those whom we employ or help to employ by means of that which we have capitalized shall have no cause for complaint. Our means, like man's extremities, are God's opportunity; they are given to us for a wider purpose than can be confined within a selfish aim. Let capitalism once get wholly into the hands of Christian men and women—or, better, let the capitalists all become Christian men and women—it would soon then have to be admitted that the finest socialism in the world is capitalism.

W. A. DICKINS.

### MAN'S OTHER RELIGION—NATIONALISM

THE author of *Poetry and Prayer* has written his latest book under the stimulus of a moral imperative. He believes that Nationalism is to many no longer a mere political theory but has assumed the significance of another religion—to some indeed the only religion. In this changed attitude he sees developing a world-wide peril. He needs must speak and in *Nationalism: Man's other Religion* (S.C.M. Press, 4s. net) he has discharged his soul. He holds that we cannot escape from religion whichever way we turn and that whatever problems confront us we can solve nothing at all until we have first decided what we are thinking about in relation to God, 'or to that which we put on the throne of God.' It is now quite clear that while they may be treated as political the real strength of Communism and Nationalism lies not in their political theories but in their power to fill the place of a religion: 'No one can understand the Communist party in Russia till he studies it as a godless Church, filled with a religious passion, possessed by a desire to banish the God whom man has made out of his dreams. No one can understand the Nationalism of the East, till he detects in it the marks of a religion.'

The present crisis is a challenge to the Christian Church: wherein has she failed that men should seek a substitute for Christianity? Certain facts refuse to be ignored. The European crisis furnished tragic evidence that war was unavoidable in states which decline to recognize any power above the state. It is true that the Great War gave an impetus to the internationalist movement, as witnessed in the League of Nations and the Pact of Paris, but other evidence reveals a disconcerting revival of that very Nationalism responsible for the War. And to ignore the new facts presented by Russia, China, Japan, India, for example, is but to await another disaster. Nationalism may vary both in the quality of the inspiration which prompts it

and in its form of expression, yet we need not travel beyond Europe to see its menacing aspect. Though economic nationalism may be considered obsolete it is indisputable that tariff walls were never so high. And in not a few countries the tradition of the sovereign state is still preserved.

Nor is the situation less disconcerting in the East: knowledge has spread; old traditions are broken down; the dawn of national consciousness has come in thunder; and there has been upon all the world the shadow of the War. Mr. Shillito holds that because the Church is catholic it must be free to witness to the Most High. And he very pertinently asks 'Can a Church be catholic and at the same time a chaplain to the State?' All this has special significance to the Clergy for whom exemption from military service is sometimes claimed on the ground that they are officers of a Catholic Society. It follows, therefore, that 'if the priest is not permitted to use a bayonet himself, he ought not to bless the provision of ships and guns which others will use against fellow-members of the body of Christ.' If the Church is to escape the snare of Nationalism it must declare the mind of Christ. It is indeed called to furnish a Large Upper Room in which all the peoples and nations of the earth may sit down in universal fellowship—the fellowship of the Great Sacrament with their Lord. The sketches of Karl Marx, Sun-Yat-Sen, Augustine, Machiavelli. The Two Tilaks and The Upper Room illumine the themes of their respective chapters. The book is of immense value as an answer to the charge that the ideal of a World-Peace is impracticable and impossible. It has at least the significance of reminding us that the supreme illustration of *impracticable* politics was when Jesus accepted the Cross as the only way to redeem and to save the world.

B. AQUILA BARBER.

## ST. AUGUSTINE'S DOCTRINE OF THE SOUL

It has been said that his Neoplatonic studies made Augustine a psychologist. There seems little doubt, however, that he was an introspective psychologist of no mean order before ever he came under the influence of Plotinus.<sup>1</sup> His psychology is the centre of his thinking and supplies the standpoint from which he approaches other intellectual problems. With Augustine psychology enters upon a new development. The soul becomes the living whole of personality whose life is a unity, and by its self-consciousness is certain of its own reality as the surest truth. For Augustine the soul is simple. 'The soul is simple in its essence, but manifold in its operations.'<sup>2</sup> About the problem of its origin he has no fixed opinion and is evidently agitated by embarrassing doubts. The soul is not corporeal, and it

<sup>1</sup> c.f. Earlier part of his *Confessions*, e.g., Bk. i., 30, 31; ii., 12; iv., 9.

<sup>2</sup> *De Trin.*, iii., 2.



is apparently made from nothing. He agrees with Plotinus in that the soul has a life it cannot lose, and though mortal in the sense of being capable of change from better to worse, it is indestructible and so immortal. Augustine is in agreement with the Neoplatonists in his conception of the manner of the soul's presence in the body. The soul is wholly present, not only in the entire mass of the body, but in every particle of it, capable of acting and feeling as a whole at every point.

The nature of the union is nevertheless mysterious and of a metaphysical difficulty, as he implies in *De Civitate Dei*, xxi., 10: 'The coherence of spirits and bodies, whereby both become one creature—exceeds all human capacity (of understanding).'

As with Plato, the soul, for Augustine, is the ruling partner in the combination of soul and body. This may be illustrated from a passage in the *Confessions*<sup>1</sup> where he refers to various degrees in the life of the soul:

'What then do I love, when I love my God? Who is He above the head of my soul? By my very soul I will ascend to Him. I will pass beyond that power whereby I am united to my body, and fill its whole frame with life—I will pass then beyond this power of my nature also by rising by degrees unto Him, who made me.' 'This power' (he says elsewhere) 'unifies the body, resists disintegration, regulates the distribution of nutriment within the body, and presides over growth and generation.'<sup>2</sup>

The soul produces all actions, and its actions always affect the body. Sensation takes place through the five senses, and is preceded by a physical change which is its condition though not its cause. Augustine approaches sensation from the inner side, from the aspect of it as a result. It is a form of awareness that is produced through the body. There will be awareness in two ways; by sensation and by reason; the distinguishing characteristic of sensation being the actual feeling. The special senses are prevailed over, according to Augustine, by what he calls 'the inner sense,' or 'the inward faculty' (interior sensus). To this inner sense the bodily senses make their report. The 'inner sense' alone has knowledge. The setting up of faculties in any independence is thus strongly resisted by Augustine. The influence of the soul pervades the whole body. He adheres to the Platonic tradition in considering that the body is the instrument of the soul.

As paganism draws to its close the soul of man comes to be regarded more and more as a unity. Neoplatonism, through Plotinus, made a distinct contribution in this direction. It remained to Christianity, under the powerful influence of Augustine, to give a still greater stimulus towards the oneness of personality. Augustine's characteristic mark as a thinker was his inward gaze. He analyses and analyses himself. The realities of consciousness were the primary objects of his contemplation; and from them he took his starting point for reflection on the world. The soul for him is the living whole of per-

<sup>1</sup> x., 11.

<sup>2</sup> *De Quant, Anim*, 70.

sonality, whose life is a unity, and by its self-consciousness is certain of its own reality as the surest truth.<sup>1</sup> 'Go not abroad, return unto thyself; in the inner man dwelleth truth.'<sup>2</sup> 'In the inner man I both am, and know that I am; and I love that being and knowledge, and I have a similar certainty that I love them.'<sup>3</sup>

It is in the *Confessions*, the first great classic of Christian experience outside the New Testament, that we have what is one of the most illuminating expositions of the human soul in literature. In his own experience the author discovered how manifold was the life of his own soul, for whom there was no happiness until it was brought into inward harmony, and found its rest in God. The *Confessions* is, in fact, the self-portrait of a soul in spiritual travail and in pilgrimage under the guiding hand of God. Augustine is fond of representing in the spirit of Plotinus the ascent of the soul in knowledge as the soul's pilgrimage from exile. The goal is theoretic vision. He never wearies in stressing the union of *Beatitudo* and love.

The Confessor's own personality is shown to be many-sided, yet when he finds himself, the diverse elements within him compose a single living whole. Augustine dealt in terms of personality rather than in terms of nature, and it was not of a physical union between Deity and humanity that he thought, but of a personal union between God and man. Not through a study of the universe but rather through a study of himself were his eyes at length opened to the God he had long been seeking. 'God and the soul—that is what I desire to know. Nothing more? Nothing whatever.'<sup>4</sup>

Augustine was a psychologist before he was a theologian, and his apprehension of his own individuality was far too vivid to permit him to content himself in genuine mystic fashion with the idea of a mere Neoplatonic absorption in Deity as the end of existence. His acquaintance with the innermost workings of his own soul was too thorough-going for him to conceive of any union between God and man which was not conditioned primarily upon a conscious unity of will and purpose. Thus he found in the love of the human heart for God the true secret of oneness with Him. Love answered love, and the self was lost, not in the contemplation of Deity, but in devotion to Him.

The following quotations will illustrate the urge which the author felt within himself towards that unity for which he craved: 'Within me was a famine of that inward food, Thyself, my God.'<sup>5</sup> 'How did I burn then, my God, how did I burn to remount from earthly things to Thee . . . O Truth, Truth, how inwardly did even then the inmost marrow of my soul pant after Thee.'<sup>6</sup> 'I hungered and thirsted . . . after Thee, Thyself, the Truth, "in whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."'<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Note: 'I think, therefore, I am,' is, for Augustine, just as definitely as for Descartes, the primary point of certainty, and like Descartes, he finds God within the soul.

<sup>2</sup> *De vera relig.*, c., 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Soliloquies*, i., 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* iii., 4.

<sup>5</sup> *De Civ. Dei.*, xi., 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Conf.* iii., 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid* iii., 6.

He came to the discovery also that while he had himself been pursuing God, though not consciously, God had been pursuing him, as a Divine huntsman all the days of his life. 'By inward goads Thou didst rouse me that I should be ill at ease until Thou wert manifested to my inward sight.'<sup>1</sup> 'When I shall with my whole self cleave to Thee, I shall nowhere have sorrow or labour; and my life shall whole live, as wholly full of Thee.'<sup>2</sup> Herein he found unity and happiness: 'For when I seek Thee, my God, I seek a happy life. I will seek Thee, that my soul may live. For my body liveth by my soul; and my soul by Thee.'<sup>3</sup>

It will be seen that the Augustinian metaphysics is built up upon the self-knowledge of the finite personality; that is, upon the fact of inner experience. So far as a comprehension of the Divine essence is at all possible for man, it can be gained only after the analogy of self-knowledge.

The knowledge of the intelligible world is essentially illumination, revelation. Augustine regards the illumination of the individual consciousness by the Divine truth as essentially an act of Grace, in the case of which the individual consciousness occupies an expectant and purely receptive attitude. Knowledge of the truths of reason is an element in blessedness, and blessedness man owes not to his own will, but to that of God. Moreover, the apprehension of divine truth is effected not so much by insight as through faith or belief.

We have, in Augustine, the foundation of what was afterwards developed into the so-called Ontological argument for the existence of God. The presence of God is within the human soul. In human nature there is that which is God's own impress. 'God must be sought from within ourselves.'<sup>4</sup>

The foregoing was written prior to the publication of Dr. James Morgan's recent work: *The Psychological Teaching of St. Augustine* (Eliot Stock)—a highly competent and illuminating study of St. Augustine's psychology, to which any interested student of the writings of the great African Father will turn with profit. One or two paragraphs summarizing St. Augustine's Christian philosophy may be quoted from Dr. Morgan's examination: 'There is a philosophy of St. Augustine, but it is of a religious nature. He desires to know only God and the human soul. He desires to know God for His own sake; the soul for the sake of knowing God. His study of the soul is not purely a philosophical or psychological study; it is also a religious study. It is the soul of man, and not the soul in general that chiefly engages his attention.' (p. 92).

'St. Augustine's most remarkable contribution to the philosophy of the human soul is his development of the doctrine of its spiritual nature.

He was probably the first Christian thinker to understand clearly

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid* viii., 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Conf.* x., 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* x., 20.

<sup>4</sup> *De Trin.* viii., 7, 11. c.f. Jacob Boehme *The Way to Christ*, Pt. iv.—'Where will you seek for God? Seek Him in your soul, which has proceeded out of the Eternal Nature, the living fountain of forces wherein the Divine working stands.'

the distinction between matter and spirit, body and substance. He stands out among the philosophers of his time as the uncompromising upholder of the doctrine that the soul of man is not a body, but a simple spiritual substance. The arguments which he advanced to prove the correctness of his teaching, constitute a permanent bulwark of defence against the ever-recurring attacks of materialism. His appeal to the authority of consciousness in his proof of this doctrine, and his insistence on the scientific value of the data obtainable by introspection, have ensured for him an exalted position among those who have aided in the development of psychological method. The philosophical doctrine of spirituality outlined by him is as important as any which has been attempted since his day; it is not an exaggeration to say, that, so far as this aspect of Christian philosophy is concerned, he was the richest contributor in the long history of Christian thought' (pp. 142-3).

WALLACE J. HEATON.

## RELIGION AND EARLY SHORTHAND

It seems a far call from religion to so commercialized a craft as shorthand writing, yet the invention and growth of modern systems of stenography must be attributed largely to the religious controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Tironian shorthand, said to have been first devised by Cicero's freedman, M. Tullius Tiro, was still practised sporadically in the Middle Ages; but was so little used after the twelfth century that it is beyond dispute that all present-day systems ultimately derive, not from the *Notae Tironianae*, but from the crude methods of short writing practised in England during the sixteenth century.

In England, the art seems to have been recalled into being by the need to report the speeches, sermons and disputations on theological subjects which so agitated the country during the Reformation. Most of the early reports which are thought to have been taken down in shorthand are of speeches and sermons made by eminent theologians, and during the next hundred years or more the chief aim of shorthand inventors was to evolve systems that would enable reports to be secured, for people unable to hear them, of statements and speeches on religious controversies then so vital. The early history of modern shorthand may truly be said to march in step with the rise of the reformed Church in England.

John Jewel and Thomas Some are the earliest reporters whose names are known to us. John Jewel (1522-1571), who was a vigorous protagonist of Protestantism in the reign of Edward VI, and was for this reason driven out of the country in Mary's reign, reported the disputations of Peter Martyr, Cranmer and others (cf. *Vita Joannis Juellii*, 1573, by John Humfrey), and in 1549 Thomas Some, who had left his monastery to become a Protestant, reported the famous

seven Friday sermons which Hugh Latimer, then Court preacher, delivered before Henry VIII. Some's preface to the sermon of March 8, 1549, regrets that the sermon was not 'so exactly done as he did speake it, for in very truth I am not able so to do, to write word for word as he did speake.' Later many people, among them Richard Crashaw's father, took down the sermons preached in the last quarter of the sixteenth century by William Perkins, fellow of Christ College, Cambridge: these sermons were published in great number at the beginning of the following century and were stated to have been 'written from his mouth.'

The first published method did not appear until 1588, when Timothe Bright issued *Characterie: the Art of Short, Swift and Secret Writing by Character*. The author at this time was a surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, but later took up the cure of souls as Rector of Methley, in Yorkshire. The most important of the early shorthand systems, however, was the *Arte of Stenographie*, which appeared anonymously in 1602, but is shown by later editions to have been the work of the Reverend John Willis, who in 1602 was Rector of St. Mary Bothaw, Walbrook, and later Rector of Bentley Parva, in Essex. From the first publication of this method, there has been a steady stream of new systems, for the most part following the lines laid down by John Willis, and many of them written by clergymen.

It was the popularity of sermons that chiefly contributed to the spread of the new script. The Jacobean period was the golden age of English preaching, and it became a practice for stenographers to report the sermons of the most popular preachers, a practice suggested by John Willis in the preface to the *Arte of Stenographie*. 'He that is well practised in this Art,' he states, 'may write verbatim as fast as a man can treatably speake: in regard whereof it is very necessary for the noting of Sermons, Orations, Mootes, Reportes, Disputations, and the like.' Similarly, Thomas Shelton, one of the greatest stenographers of the seventeenth century, justified shorthand in his *Tutor to Tachygraphy*, 1642, on the ground that 'many things of good use are and have bin by this Art preserved, which otherwise had bin lost, as may appear by the workes of divers worthy men by this art taken and published, which else had perished with the breath that uttered them.' In a later work, *Zeiglographia*, 1659, he mentions Dr. Preston, Dr. Sibs and Dr. Day among the clergymen whose sermons had been reported.

The activities of some other early reporters have also survived in record. Thus, Edmond Willis, who in 1618 published an improvement upon the method of his namesake, John Willis, under the title *An Abbreviation of Writing by Character*, in a preface addressed to 'The Right Reverend Father in God, Nicholas Felton, by the Divine Providence, Lord Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield,' states that he had long practised shorthand 'in taking many sermons from your Lordship's own mouth by the space of many years.' In this connexion, it is interesting that Mr. W. J. Carlton has acquired a manuscript containing eight sermons preached from 1599 to 1602 by Nicholas



Felton, then Vicar of St. Antholin's: the title page states that they were 'taken from his mouth by . . .' (here is a blank caused by the erasure of the reporter's name). This erasure in the title page poses the problem whether the reporter was Edmond Willis.

That the reporting of sermons was not always due to the simple love of oratory or to the desire to preserve the utterances of the 'silver-tongued' preachers of the time, may be gathered from a remark of Bishop Earle in his *Microcosmographie*, 1628, where he gives the Character of 'The Raw Young Preacher, whose collections of studies are the Notes of Sermons which taken up at St. Marie's he utters in the Country. And if he write Brachygraphy, his stocke is so much the better.'

Nor was this the only misuse of the new method of reporting. Many sermons must have been taken down for the reporters' own reading but some of the shorthand notes were used for the much less admirable purpose of literary piracy. Among the Elizabethan preachers who were paid this somewhat dubious honour of having their sermons so pirated were Master Stephen Egerton, a puritan divine who held the Ministry at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, and Henry Smith, who in the words of Anthony Wood was 'the miracle and wonder of his age for his prodigious memory and for his fluent, eloquent and practical way of preaching.' Between 1589 and 1592 several of their sermons were issued by such disreputable publishers as Abel Jeffes, and stated to have been 'Taken by Characterie.' Thus, in 1589 appeared Egerton's sermon on Genesis xii, 17-20 taken down by A.S., who in his preface records the general desire that Lectures and Sermons 'might be registred,' and goes on:

'This desire of manie hath lately bene satisfied, by an Art called Characterie; which I hauing learned, haue put in practise, in writing sermons therby to preserue (as it were) the life of much memorable doctrine, that would otherwise bee buried in forgetfulnes, whereof I here giue thee a fruit (christian reader) in publishing this godly sermon so taken.'

In 1603, a revised edition of this sermon appeared, with a preface by Egerton, who stated that he had recently been shown a copy of the pirated edition, and now published his own version 'rather somewhat to qualifie an error that cannot be recalled, then to publish a worke that may be in any way greatly commodious to other.' In the same way, Henry Smith was forced to revise a number of his own sermons which had been taken down in Characterie and published without his consent.

In the eighteenth century, the reporting of sermons in shorthand was widespread, and the notes of many such reports have survived. They were chiefly written by the pupils of the Rev. Philip Doddridge, who in 1729 became principal of the training college for Dissenting clergymen at Lutterworth (later transferred to Northampton upon Doddridge's appointment to the Nonconformist ministry there). Doddridge made shorthand part of the curriculum at the Academy and each student had to take down full shorthand notes of the lectures.

Many of his own sermons and his diary were written in shorthand and were transcribed by Job Orton, an assistant minister at Northampton, whose own sermons also exist in a shorthand manuscript in the British Museum.

The close connexion between religion and shorthand which is shown by the prevalence of reported sermons is seen even better in the common seventeenth-century practice of writing in shorthand the Bible and Metrical Psalms. The earliest surviving shorthand manuscript is the Book of Titus written in 1586 by Timothe Bright in an early form of Characterie, and the only other manuscript in the system is *The Divine Prophecies of the Sibylls*, concerning the coming of Christ.

The first book printed wholly in shorthand was the Metrical Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins, written in the stenography of John Willis. No copy of this has been traced, but according to announcements in later editions of Willis's textbooks, it was published in 1618, and what is probably a copy of it is a little manuscript book written in 1628 by Richard Hill, and now in Sion College Library. Another shorthand version of the same Metrical Psalms was published in 1665 by Thomas Shelton in his own system, and a copy is in the British Museum, which also has an anonymous manuscript containing the ordinary psalms written (c. 1640) in Henry Dix's system.

The earliest recorded shorthand Bible was formerly in the possession of Augustus J. C. Hare. It was written by Joseph Alstone in 1632, and is stated to be in Thomas Shelton's shorthand. Other similar versions of the Scriptures are:

Jeremiah Rich's New Testament and Psalms, first published in 1659.

William Holder's Bible, 1668. The writer was in 1660 Prebendary of Ely Cathedral.

Jonathan Hardey's New Testament, 1686.

William Addy's Bible and Book of Common Prayer, 1687.

Many similar works were published or written in the eighteenth century by, among others, James Weston, John Byrom the poet, and Dr. Watts the hymnologist. Copies of all of them are in the British Museum Library, except Hardey's New Testament, which is owned by Dr. Williams's Library.

Some of these writers may have penned their shorthand texts merely as a hobby, but for others the main reason was that in this form they were thought to be illegible save to the initiated, for in the seventeenth century shorthand was regarded partly as a secret cipher. Many Protestants genuinely feared that the Catholics, if ever they had the opportunity, would entirely suppress the Scriptures, and suspected that Puritans travelling abroad or in heathen countries with the Bible in their possession went in grave danger of life or liberty. Some of them, therefore, turned to shorthand versions in the belief that they would not be recognized as the Scriptures and would consequently safeguard the faithful against the perils that attended people carrying ordinary versions. This belief is expressed by Thomas Shelton in his *Tutor to Tachygraphy*, 1642, where he reckons among the chief

advantages of shorthand the fact that gentlemen and merchants in foreign parts could safely carry Bibles and Testaments written in that script without fear of the bloody inquisitors.

The same point of view is expressed in the following delightful note written in the fly-leaves of Thomas Newman's shorthand Bible :

'The penman of this shorthand manuscript of the Holy Scriptures was the venerable Mr. Thomas Newman, born in the Cloth Fair, near Smith Field, London, at the most malignant period of the plague of 1665. In the reign of King Charles II when the Protestant religion was in hazard of being subverted he was apprentice to a London draper in the place of his nativity, and, under pious apprehension lest the Holy Scriptures should be called in and suppressed, that he might if possible preserve that invaluable treasure, determined to transcribe them in shorthand. So conscientious was this excellent youth not to deprive his master's service of his time, that he secretly determined and strictly adhered to the resolution of sitting up two whole nights in every week until he had accomplished the object. The discovery was made by the watchman, who called on the master and informed him that for some time he had frequently observed the light of a candle during the hours of his night watch, which he thought became him to mention lest it might be from some improper cause.

'The master's inquiry relating to this matter induced the apprentice to explain the nature of his employment, which with its pious motive might otherwise have remained unknown.

'This employment occupied him from October to the March following. The sitting up so many nights in a cold shop without fire was thought to be the cause of a profound deafness which afflicted him many years until his death.

'In early life he had learned the value of "the pearl of great price."

'All these circumstances were communicated to me (who have the honour to stand in the relation to him of his nephew's son) by the sister, son and daughters of this exemplary character, which continued resplendent to the close of seventy-seven years on the 16th June, 1742.

'JOSEPH PRICE.'

The history of some of the shorthand manuscripts supports the Protestants' faith in the secrecy of the script, for Pepys's shorthand diary for a century and a half remained unread, and the Sion College Psalms were as late as the end of last century believed to be written in cipher.

The debt of shorthand to religion is, therefore, clear. In the seventeenth century, no great use was made of shorthand for the tasks with which we now associate it, letter writing, law reports, journalism. Its chief function was to play a small part in the religious activities of the time, and but for this, the links which join shorthands of the sixteenth century to those of the present-day would undoubtedly have been much fewer.

W. MATTHEWS, M.A.

# Recent Literature

## THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

*The Philosophical Approach to Religion.* By Eric S. Waterhouse, M.A., D.D. (Epworth Press. 5s.)

The above volume is the first of the Fernley-Hartley Lectures and it is to be hoped that subsequent lecturers will maintain the high standard that has been set for them by Dr. Waterhouse. A discussion of the philosophical approach to religion is particularly timely. The philosophical aspects of religion tend to be overlooked both by those who stress the centrality of 'experience' as well as by those who dismiss religion as an illusion. Readers of his book will have an opportunity of surveying the philosophical bearings of religious faith under the guidance of one whose competence is beyond dispute, and whose fairness to opponents indicates the sincerity of his quest for truth. There is another reason why this work should be welcomed. Of the making of books on the psychology of religion there would seem to be no end, and there is doubtless room for at least some of them. The major conflict, however, is in the region of the ultimate truth of religion, and it is important that all those who care for the vindication of the theistic interpretation of the universe should be adequately equipped for the fray. It is greatly to be desired that ministers and theological students should read this volume and some of the chapters might form a basis for group discussions.

The book opens with an examination of the nature of religion and of the relations of religion to science, art, philosophy and morality. This is followed by a chapter on the purpose of philosophy in which the chief theories of knowledge are outlined and the characteristics of religious knowledge set forth. The validity of the theistic hypothesis is then considered, and it is urged that the 'proofs' of the existence of God even when purged of accretions must remain evidence for a theistic interpretation of life rather than infallible demonstrations that must be accepted by all who are capable of thought. Rival conceptions of the universe—theism, dualism, monism, pluralism, materialism, realism and idealism—are expounded in a chapter on 'The Idea of the Universe.' There is much in this chapter of interest to the philosophical student and general reader alike. After a discussion on the moral nature of man, theories of good and evil are passed under review, and it is argued that morality must find its basis in values which are objective in the sense that they belong to the nature of reality. The relation of God to the world and to Man is then considered and the book closes with an impartial survey of the evidence for immortality.

In a volume which is so richly deserving of commendation, it seems trivial to indulge in criticism. There are perhaps two points which should be mentioned. In his discussion of religious knowledge, Dr. Waterhouse observes: 'There is no reason to differentiate religious knowledge as knowledge of any different type. It is knowledge of the same kind as any other but its affinities are with our knowledge of the beautiful rather than our knowledge of the properties of objects of sense' (p. 61). It is true that a 'knock-down' proof cannot be produced in empirical science or religion and that inference and intuition play an important part in scientific as in religious knowledge. But does not the knowledge of God imply a personal relationship of a kind not found in science or art, and is it not on that account unique? Further, it is hardly adequate to say our knowledge of God is intuitive or immediate (p. 61), knowledge of God may become immediate but normally it is mediated by knowledge about God. In any case, the distinguishing characteristic of religious knowledge is not its intuitive basis but the personal relationship which it presupposes.

Secondly, we could have wished that Dr. Waterhouse had dealt more fully with the meaning of revelation, particularly in relation to the Incarnation. The crux for many thinkers to-day is not the possibility of revelation in general or the difference from the point of view of revelation between the Beatitudes and the theory of Relativity (p. 203), but the possibility of a specific revelation such as the doctrine of the Incarnation implies. Perhaps this volume is intended to prepare the way for another on the philosophic approach to the Christian Religion. Let us hope that the author may find time to render this additional service to his readers.

HAROLD ROBERTS.

*Ancient Hebrew Social Life and Custom as Indicated in Law, Narrative and Metaphor.* By R. H. Kennett. (H. Milford. 6s.)

Dr. Kennett's preparation of the MS. of these Schweich lectures was far advanced when he died last year. Dr. Burkitt, who began to learn Hebrew from him in 1886 has had little more to do than to verify quotations and revise proofs. The lectures are divided into three groups which cover birth and marriage; home life; and occupations. There is fullness of detail lightly carried and a happy mixture of critical boldness with due appreciation of the text of the Hebrew Scriptures. Dr. Kennett draws attention to the literalizing and consequent misunderstanding of Hebraic figures of speech which were not intended to be taken *au pied de la lettre*. Parallelism is of various kinds. Sometimes it is divided as in 'corn shall make the young men flourish, and new wine the maids,' which did not mean that one sex should have all the corn and another all the wine, but that there should be abundant satisfaction of all physical needs. Isaiah xxviii. 9 gives a hint of a spelling lesson to children; chapter iii mentions a large number of articles of women's dress and adornment. The jeweller's art



had reached a high degree of perfection. Precious stones were cut and engraved, ivory was in use. The account of a Trial by Ordeal witnessed by Dr. Kennett's son in Arabia brings the lectures to a vivid and realistic close. They make a strong appeal to Bible students.

*The Meaning and Truth of Religion.* By Eugene W. Lyman.  
(Scribners. 12s. 6d.)

Dr. Lyman, who is a professor of religion at Union Theological Seminary, New York, has planned this book on an impressive scale. It is obviously the fruit of deep and prolonged study: the bibliography ranges over a wide field and the book abounds with apt allusions to the greatest authorities and to some also of secondary importance. It is a courageous attempt to face what, to many, are baffling religious questions and not a few will be grateful both for the author's method of approach as well as his personal contribution to the interpretation of problems from which none can escape. He is in touch with life and not merely in touch with other thinkers, notwithstanding a certain characteristic deference. With Dr. Lyman's standpoint that the heart of creative religion is ethical mysticism we find ourselves in general accord, more especially since he recognizes that 'religion comes to its fullest development when it effects a synthesis of its mystical, ethical, aesthetic and philosophical types.' He holds that its intrinsic manifestation is best seen in the great prophets and the movements they have inspired; and that, 'in its full nature religion unites communion with Divine Reality, the creation and conservation of value, the appreciation and expression of Beauty, and the integration of thought and experience.' He sees in man 'an emerging spiritual personality'—a part of nature and yet akin to the Cosmic Creative spirit and to the realm of intrinsic values. Dr. Lyman has chosen 'the aspect of religion in which it is an enhancer of life, a creative energy, as furnishing the point of view from which we seek to gain a fresh understanding of the nature and workings of religion, to comprehend more fully its meaning for life and the universe, and to discover some of its larger possibilities for human destiny.' And in considering its social and spiritual energy he ably reviews its historic creative manifestations and its vital significance for the present social problems. The book deals with Religious Experience, Religious Knowledge, and Religious Beliefs and their Rational Grounds. Under the first section vital characteristics of religion are discerningly discussed and its capacity to function creatively is considered its most significant feature. Its expression is seen both as a principle of variability and as a principle of integration. Its chief characteristics are summed up in a comprehensive definition: 'Religion is an experience of Kinship with the Deepest Reality in the Universe and hence of membership in an infinitely meaningful world and of sharing in an ever unfolding life.' Other phases of religious experience include interpretations of religion and ethics; religion and mysticism, and creative religion. Here again the author's capacity to define finds notable expression

as in his conception of Mysticism: 'a sense of a presence that is immediately felt to be Divine, or an apprehension of truth that is immediately felt to be valid and momentous.' Religious knowledge is dealt with in three illuminating chapters: Religious Faith and Scientific Inquiry; Value and Validity; and Intuition and Reason. Here we are reminded that Truth no less than Salvation and the abundant life is the concern of religion and that religion and science should be frankly recognized as 'genuinely complemental to each other in the enterprise of growing reality;' that indeed 'religious faith and scientific inquiry are not antitheses nor antagonists, but stand in a relation of polarity to each other, so that each should further the other and the development of the human spirit.'

In his introduction to the third section of the book Dr. Lyman sets forth various reasons for holding ethical religion to be the greatest spiritual force in human history: 'Into it have been gathered insights and inspirations which are central for grasping the meaning of the universe and for the full unfolding of human life. Ethical religion has at its core the intuition that human personality, and that which is deepest in cosmic reality, are akin, and that this kinship consists in the vision and realization of value. Hence ethical religion fulfils itself through the union of love for God and love for man, as we see in the religion of Jesus.' And again: 'The ethical religion of the Hebrew prophets, as it was deepened and universalized by the spirit of Jesus, became a powerful leaven in human history in that it brought into vital unity communion with Divine Reality and the creation and conservation of the values of life.' The principles and beliefs bound up with ethical religion are grouped under: Belief in God; Man and His Ideals; and A Spiritual Universe. Most readers will follow with interest the thoughtful discussion of the subjects treated in each group. Of the problem of evil, for example, he claims that the will of an ethical God must be understood to be directed towards the conquest of evil and that wherever men strive to change the processes which produce evil into processes which produce good they must be regarded as co-workers with God. In the portrait of the Suffering Servant, Dr. Lyman sees expressed in its profoundest meaning what he terms 'the principle of transmutation of evil.' 'The chastisement of our peace was upon Him; and with His stripes we are healed.' It was this principle Jesus incarnated in His acceptance of the Cross—the principle He discerned to be inseparable from sonship to God. And He ultimately interpreted His mission in His declaration that He came 'to give His life a ransom for many.' Dr. Lyman thus recognizes that the expression of self-sacrificing love is involved in the conquest of evil. An interesting summary from the last paragraph of the book illustrates the author's conclusions: 'A faith which discovers that the transcendent God, who is the ultimate creative ground of the universe and whose inherent nature is Truth, Beauty, and Goodness, is also immanent in human aspirations and idealistic strivings and is most fully manifested in human personalities completely dedicated

to the building of the Beloved Community, cannot be other than the supreme spiritual dynamic.' It should, however, be noted that while Dr. Lyman admits that Jesus Himself embodies ethical religion uniquely and supremely yet to regard Him merely as a prophet, a mystic, an ethical genius, a social reformer, must nevertheless be deemed inadequate to those who see in Jesus the Eternal Christ whose Cross and Kingdom of Love declare Him to be the Redeemer of Mankind and the Hope of the World. *The Meaning and Truth of Religion* is a Religious Book Club selection. It deserves the careful attention of all serious students of modern religious thought.

B. AQUILA BARBER.

*The Plain Man Seeks for God.* By Henry P. Van Dusen. (Scribners, 1933. 8s. 6d.)

These are days in which we hear the cry raised, even in unexpected quarters, with a new insistence, 'Oh that I knew where I could find Him.' Mr. Van Dusen, who is Associate Professor of Systematic Theology and the Philosophy of Religion in the Union Theological Seminary of New York, has set himself to give an answer to that question with engaging frankness and directness. As he explains in the preface, 'it is the plain man's working beliefs, not the statements of the Creeds or the God preached from our Pulpits or his own professed or theoretical beliefs,' which he has held steadily in view. He begins with a general statement of what he calls the plain man's dilemma. The influence of humanism he finds is passing, and we have lost the strong clear conception of revelation which was familiar two generations ago; we have also lost the general and expected practice of religion. Religion, indeed, is on its way to decay among us just as, in America, great financial fortunes disappear in the fourth generation. He quotes with approval Mr. Lippmann's saying that 'it is difficult for modern men to conceive a God whom they worship.' This haziness in contemporary thought about God he finds due to a large extent to the widespread influence of Kant, to whom God is nothing but a postulate of the practical reason; our belief in Him, such as it is, being derived from our innate sense of duty and therefore bounded by what may be called the moral values. He then bids us turn to contemporary science and the philosophical ideas based upon it, which, as it is clear from the writings of Whitehead, Jeans and Eddington (from whom he extensively quotes), point impressively to the existence of a spiritual principle behind the factors, immensely large and inconceivably minute, to which modern science has led the way. Beyond this, however, he finds the importance of the spiritual values, in dealing with which he constantly refers the reader to Pringle-Pattison and Sorley. He is also attracted by the 'emergent evolution' of Professor Lloyd Morgan. He urges that these writers would seem to make clear that the realm of evolution cannot be separated from the realm of facts, and he suggests that the character of God may be least inadequately seen in the figure of a great drama, with its four factors

of the stage setting, the actors, the parts to be played in the drama, and the dramatist. God is the 'other' whose impact on our lives is not only in nature but in the values and also in personal intercourse—in supernature. We cannot discover Him; we must receive Him; we must awake to the deeper significance of familiar experience. The book ends with a discussion, somewhat brief, of 'the final perplexity—evil.' Evil, the author holds with Miss Maude Royden, cannot be explained; yet we cannot conceive of a moral world without it, and in its brave and patient endurance a permanent good is reached which otherwise would have been unattainable. The volume sums up a great deal that is being written at the present day on constructive lines. The author has been greatly influenced by Professor Taylor's recent Gifford Lectures, though without Professor Taylor's strongly marked Catholicism. That, as Pascal says in the well-known sentence which the Author quotes on his title page, 'We could not search for God if we had not already found Him,' is doubtless in an epigrammatic fashion true; but it is worth remembering that if we fall back upon the New Testament presentation of Religion God is primarily the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was sent to bring humanity back to Him, and whom we could rightly know only through Jesus His Son. May it be that what will bring the present age, with all its perplexities, back to the faith that saves, is not the understanding of the implications of nature as modern science is endeavouring to explain it to us, but the weariness of a burdened world which can only find rest in Christ?

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

*A Study of Religious Thought in England from 1850.* By Clement C. J. Webb, D.Litt. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d.)

These Olaus Patri Lectures were delivered last year in Upsala and are dedicated to the dear and honoured memory of Archbishop Söderblom, who arranged for the lectures, and to his widow whose gracious hospitality added much to the pleasure of Dr. Webb's visit. The lectures deal with the philosophy of religion from the time when the Oxford Movement 'had spent its first force but the epoch-making suggestions of Darwin' had not yet startled the thinking world. The European background is sketched with special reference to Spinoza, Kant, Goethe and Hegel. In England there was a less pronounced movement towards immanentism. Its advance in this country was checked by those who challenged the claim of natural Science to provide an adequate basis for spiritual qualities. The effect of biblical criticism on religious thought is then discussed, with special reference to *Lux Mundi*, *Essays and Reviews* and Bishop Colenso. The British Idealists represented by Caird and T. H. Green gave religion a high place among the gifts of civilization. Dean Rashdall, Von Hügel and other thinkers laid stress on Personal in distinction from Absolute Idealism. The World War 'promoted a revival of

interest in the quest of a revelation from without of values which men despaired of discovering within a process of civilization which had issued in so tremendous a catastrophe.' Dr. Webb takes hope for the future of religion in England from the candour and charity with which religious questions are considered. There are many grounds for serious apprehension but the real danger lies in the purely worldly habit of mind engendered in the hurrying life of great cities. The world looks for a United Church and various approaches to union are encouraging signs of the time. Nor can any one doubt that Archbishop Söderblom's desire to promote religious inter-communion will be distinctly advanced by these thoughtful and broad-minded lectures.

*The Gospel according to St. Matthew.* Edited by B. T. D. Smith, B.D. (Cambridge University Press. 5s.) The Introduction points out that this Gospel represents the view of a Christian community. It is the most Jewish in its outlook of the Gospels but also the most bitter in its hostility towards Judaism. It probably owes its orderliness and its broad divisions not only to the fact that it was planned as a Manual of Church Law and Christian doctrine and apologetics, but that from the first it was intended to be read at the church assemblies. The sources and plan of the Gospel are clearly described; the date may be 75-80; it early became the Gospel of Antioch though it is not certain that it was written there. Young students will find the Notes clear and illuminating. The Resurrection appearance in Galilee is treated in a very helpful way.—*Making Life Better.* By Elwood Worcester. (Charles Scribner's Sons. 7s. 6d.) The sub-title, 'An Application of Religion and Psychology to Human Problems' is an apt description of this book in which the writer seeks to share with others the influences which have enriched his own life. He describes the three sublimations or great purposes which exalt all one's powers as Sublimation toward God, through work, and love. Then he deals with fear, the direction of thoughts, prayer and other subjects giving striking examples of the way in which they lift life to new heights of joy and peace. There is an element of psychical research in the volume but it is not obtruded and there is much to be learned from the study.—*Religious Experience, its Nature, Types and Validity.* By A. C. Bouquet, D.D. (W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd. 3s.) This book attempts to establish the legitimacy and importance of intuitive experience as evidence for the nature and activity of Deity. The theory is submitted to various tests. The writer will not allow that knowledge of God derived from intuition is only telescoped reasoning. He seeks to make out a case for direct experience with Deity, and claims that there is well-attested evidence showing that many human beings of undoubted sanity have experienced friendship with Deity. However, persons endowed with large or frequent gifts of religious insight are as rare as geniuses of any other sort. The prophet, poet, and mystic are not fruits which hang on every family tree. Yet mild mystic experiences come to the majority of people, even to those



who cannot tell what they have seen and felt. Unfortunately, there is 'an undeniable shrinkage in the extent of the milder kind of intuitive experience, quite apart from any deliberate organized effort to extirpate it. It really does not grow in people as readily as it used to.' Various reasons for this shrinkage are given, not the least interesting and serious is that the old settled European world is once again taking to nomadism, and nomads are never creative or reflective; they only observe and destroy; they have little or no personal religion or developed culture. This is a discriminating study of the psychological aspects of religion and the validity of religious experience.

*A Philosophy of Religion.* By Ambrosius Czado. (H. R. Allenson. 5s.) Here is an excellent book by a man splendidly equipped to write upon this subject. The title is hardly accurate for to the author 'religion' is synonymous with Christianity, and it is with the two contrasted features of the Faith that he deals. Being neither Protestant nor Catholic, yet having an intimate and experiential knowledge of both; possessing a mind naturally analytic yet instinctively just, and using a fresh and unaffected style, he has given the religious world an extremely valuable and enthralling book, and has shown us at once the difficulties and the possibilities of reunion. Detached from both extremes of belief, Ambrosius Czado has done what no Catholic or Protestant apologist could ever do—he is quite unbiased, for he has not spoilt his field by the least degree of introspection, and for this reason it is quite probable that neither the Catholic nor the Protestant will agree with all that he says of their beliefs. His chapter on A Comparative Study of Denominations is brilliantly searching and its conclusions hard to avoid; it is immediately significant of a mind that sees clearly and judges accurately. The book can be recommended as both readable and expert, virtues that one seldom finds in such friendly relationship.—*Phases of The Christian Church: A Short View of its History.* By A. C. Bouquet, D.D. (W. Heffer & Sons. 4s.) As the author states in the Foreword this is meant to be an essay in perspective; it contains few dates and very little detail, for its object is merely to provide a synoptic view. It is obviously the cream of a wide and accurate scholarship and it provides a background invaluable and extremely reliable. While Dr. Czado's book has much to say on the philosophical basis for reunion this essay by Dr. Bouquet has a contribution to make concerning the historical problems that are involved.—*Fulfilling the Ministry.* By S. K. Knight. (Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d.) The author of these lectures must have had a wide parochial experience before his elevation, for his approach to the problems that are not exclusive to the Anglican ministry indicates a first-hand knowledge. Written primarily for candidates for Holy Orders this is however a book that can be recommended to all, for all ministers need a sense of responsibility which these lectures convey. No one who reads this book can fail to be 'sobered and solemnized by a description of the Christian Ministry, so reverent in spirit, so Catholic in range, so exacting

in its requirements, and so genuinely evangelical in idea.'—*The Lost Christ*. By Henry Cook, M.A. (Stockwell. 2s. 6d.) Gives clever sermons which have pleasant variety of theme and treat every subject in a clear and practical style. It is thoughtful work and suggestive also.—*Jesus Talks to His Disciples*. (Marshall, Morgan & Scott. 6d.) These extracts from the Twentieth Century New Testament have been arranged by H. F. Welks in sections in some sort of chronological order. It is a pocket booklet which will be greatly prized.

*The Finality of Jesus for Faith*. By Alexander Martin, D.D., LL.D. (T. & T. Clark. 5s.) This apologetic essay by the Principal of New College, Edinburgh, sets itself to inquire whether the Christian faith has given an acquaintance with the ultimately real and with a good achieved and made available, which leaves nothing more for the spiritual craving of man to desire. The ethico-religious teachings of Jesus, precious though they are, are not His most characteristic contribution to the spiritual life of man. His followers preached Himself, and that rested on the basis He had laid. He was aware of a relation to the Divine belonging to Himself alone. 'In Jesus that which is ethically perfect is come.' He brought men into contact with 'a Living Power of Love bent on reversing the course of natural consequence, forgiving sin, and eliminating its power from life.' It is a noble apologetic essay, restrained yet full of force and insight and one that will strengthen conviction as to the finality of the Christian Faith.—*Son of Man*. By James Leigh. (Rider & Co. 5s.) The author's aim is to investigate the doctrine that Jesus in the flesh was perfect man. He acclaims the Christ of the Gospels as the most consistent of all the great characters of history or literature, and thinks that while certain passages from Greek ethical writings, and Hebrew, Buddhist and Roman writings may be reminiscent of the teaching of the Gospels they yet lack 'the living force resulting from thoughts new and old being passed through the fire of a living brain.' To the criticism that his book conveys the impression that Jesus was 'a superlative human character rather than unique and divine,' Mr. Leigh replies that until he is satisfied that Jesus of Nazareth was a superlative human character he 'cannot take the further step of believing in His divinity.' The book presents a vivid portrait of the Son of Man.—*The Epistle to the Hebrews with some Interpretative Suggestions*. By Wilfrid H. Isaacs, M.A., Rector of Hemingby. (H. Milford. 3s. 6d.) Mr. Isaacs' study of II Corinthians was much appreciated and his new volume on Hebrews will be welcomed as warmly. The list of passages which are lighted up by new interpretation or translation shows the value of the work. It makes one think and brings out the practical bearing of the Epistle in a suggestive way. The treatment of the great passage, II. 8-11, is a good specimen of the value of the work and VI. 1-6 does not refer, he holds, to human destiny but to ministerial methods.

## HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVEL

*The Life of Cæsar.* By Guglielmo Ferrero. Translated by A. E. Zimmern. (Allen & Unwin. 16s.)

This Life was first published in 1907 and has now been reissued with certain abridgements and the omission of the copious notes in the first edition. The author supplies a new Preface in which he explains the position he holds, that the Roman Empire in the first two centuries of our era was not a monarchy either in the ancient or the modern conception of the word. Cæsar did not destroy the Republic or create the imperial government which was the slow creation of several generations who owed nothing of their achievement to Julius Cæsar. He never intended to seize the supreme power for himself. Civil war was only an accident provoked by the hatred of his enemies and not by his ambition. His great achievement was the conquest of Gaul, which was the beginning of European history. The tragic story of his assassination stands out vividly in the last chapter. Justice is done to him as a genius who 'was at once student, artist, and man of action; and in every sphere of his activity left the imprint of greatness.' His soaring yet intensely practical imagination, his well-balanced intelligence, his untiring energy and lightning quickness of decision would have made him at any time in the world's history, one of the giants of his age. Professor Ferrero does not regard him as a great statesman but as a great destroyer in whom were personified all the revolutionary forces of a mercantile age in conflict with the traditions of an old-world society. His mission was to complete the disorganization and dissolution of the old world, and thus make way for a stabler and juster system. It is no small gain to have this Life put within the reach of a wider circle by this abridged edition.

J. T.

*The United States of Europe and other Papers.* By Sir Arthur Salter. Edited by W. Arnold-Foster. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

*Problems of Peace.* Seventh Series. (Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.)

Sir Arthur Salter was accustomed as an official to note down his reflections on the wider aspects of questions presenting themselves for current decision and action. He was thus able to clear his own mind and to influence others. His opening paper on 'The Organization of the League of Nations' was written before the text of the Treaty of Versailles had received its final form, and its plea for Geneva National Secretaries was afterwards changed. His proposals for a World Economic Conference are now bearing visible fruit, and the paper on American policy in relation to world affairs is of special interest in view of present developments. Part II deals chiefly with the powers of the League for preventing or stopping war. The signi-

ficance of the Kellogg Pact is brought out clearly and President Hoover's proposals as to the free passage of food ships in case of war receive serious and sympathetic consideration. The editor's notes add much to the helpfulness of the book for those who wish to grasp the various aspects of subjects of world-wide significance. Sir Arthur Salter has done real service to a wide circle by his frank unveiling of his thoughts and convictions.

*Problems of Peace* gives eleven lectures at the Geneva Institute of International Relations in August, 1932. Dr. G. P. Gooch opens with 'An International Survey' of the eventful year, 1931-2; Sir George Paish grapples with the causes and cure of the World Economic Crisis, and other experts discuss the relation of the League and the crisis, its economic and social aspects and such questions as the Results of the Lausanne Conference, the Disarmament Resolution of July, 1932, America's participation in world organization, the Indian Round Table Conference, the Sino-Japanese dispute and the need for National and International Economic Planning. The world seems to be reshaping itself under our eyes, and the importance of such wise and broad-minded discussions as these lectures contain is incalculable. The two books ought to be in the hands of leaders of thought in all nations.

J. T.

*Renascent India.* By H. E. C. Zacharias, Ph.D. (Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

Here is a book that should be read by all who are honestly puzzled to know why, despite the benefits conferred upon India by British rule, educated India is not merely ungrateful, but in full revolt. The author is peculiarly fitted by birth, race, training and sympathy, to give us inside knowledge, and at the same time to write with the detachment of a scientific historian. Although written without propagandist ideas, the writer being Lecturer in Modern Indian History in a French University, this is no colourless compilation of facts like a Government Blue Book. Try as he will to state the case impartially, there is no disguising the writer's intense sympathies or disappointments with the actors, be they persons or parties, who come on the stage, play their parts, and disappear. Here is displayed keen insight into the character of those who have produced the ferment of political ideas which have caused the impasse in Anglo-Indian relationships. The present discontent has its roots farther back than the days of the Great War, and so the historical background for the last hundred years is traced. The leading Pro-consuls, prophets and politicians in that period are appraised with shrewdness of judgement and described sometimes in the biting phrase which reminds one of *The Gentleman with a Duster*. The viewpoint is that of an advanced Indian Liberal, longing to preserve the British connexion on terms that are honourable and not humiliating to the proudest Indian patriot; the point of view in fact of the Servants of India Society, of which Society he has been for long a member and of which the

founder was the late G. K. Gokhale, to whom the volume is dedicated as 'My political Guru.' One is naturally interested to learn his estimate of Mr. Gandhi. He does not make the mistake of blind admirers who apparently think that sanctity of life and purity of motive necessarily denote infallibility in the sphere of political judgement. Whilst the writer's conclusions will not be accepted by either extreme, represented by the Swarajist on the one hand and by Mr. Churchill on the other, they are worthy the earnest consideration of all men of goodwill who love India, sympathetically share her present agony, and long to see her fulfil her true destiny among the nations of the world to which her great past entitles her. The book is written interestingly, with literary charm and ease in style. There is a close acquaintance with all the relevant literature, whether of yesterday or to-day, and the ability to distinguish between the wood and the trees. It is a serious and helpful contribution to the solution of one of the greatest political and human problems of our time.

W. C. BIRD.

*The Challenge of Europe.* By Sherwood Eddy. (Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

The writer has spent much time in visiting Germany, France, Italy, Soviet Russia, Great Britain and the Minor Powers of Europe and gives well-balanced estimates of their leading statesmen, their pressing problems and the national character. The Old World is a challenge to the New. In some respects Europe is the continent of danger where the question of world war or peace will be decided. It is also the continent of hope. If America's foreign trade is to recover, it will be in the area of its chief consumer and producer. Europe constitutes a challenge to America which 'cannot at the same moment throttle trade by almost the highest tariffs in the world and yet demand payment upon debts which we made impossible by exclusion of goods and services, the only means of payment left to those nations.' Europe is also a challenge to America by its more advanced and widespread civilization in the economic, social, and political fields, in contrast to the more backward *laissez faire*, 'rugged individualism of the United States.' The sketches of leading figures in Germany and France are of special interest, and the chapter on Britain and her Empire is discriminating.

*The Tinder Box of Asia.* By George E. Sokolsky. (Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

The publishers claim for the author that he 'gives in this book the clearest interpretation that has yet been made of the situation in China,' and that 'the book is authoritative in every particular.' If documented evidence and quotations from the articles, speeches and works of influential and well-informed people are the criterion of authority, then the claim can be thoroughly substantiated. Mr. Sokolsky has lived in China, visited Japan, served on the staff of a



Chinese and Japanese newspaper, interviewed political dignitaries in both countries, written the political and economic chapters in the *China Year Book*, and has been able to add to his facts personal knowledge and impressions. Mr. Sokolsky's chief qualification, however, for writing this book is his impartiality. Japan is made neither the villain nor the hero. China is neither the innocent child nor the unmitigated sinner. The Western Powers are neither faultless nor unprincipled. The League of Nations is neither perfect nor effete. Past history of the Far East sullies and implicates present action. China and Japan justify or condemn the happenings of to-day by reference to justifiable or condemnatory situations, as it appears to them, of days past. The Powers and the League seek to justify their attitude within the compass of the history—economic, political and military—of the Asiatic peoples. The author set himself a difficult task in attempting to reveal to the ordinary reader that history and that past. Yet he presents it both successfully and faithfully in, to use his own words, 'a running narrative of events, occasionally lightened by pictures of the dominant personalities.' And out of the 'narrative' emerge the facts of the Far Eastern situation. He is convinced that the war between China and Japan (though Japan denies that she is at war) concerns railways, particularly the South Manchurian Railway; that this concern is due to Japan's desire primarily to seek and find economic salvation for her people and security against Russia; that the actual cause of the outbreak of hostilities i.e. the blowing up of a few feet of the South Manchurian Railway near Mukden, was incidental to the true situation which was that in Japan, owing to various causes, the country was suffering politically and economically with restricted business, many unemployed, and militarists seeking power, and that such suffering directed eyes to the natural wealth of Manchuria. Japan was ready for war, well-prepared and well-disciplined. The railway incident was but the excuse. If it had not been the railways, asserts Mr. Sokolsky, it would have been something else just as impeachable. Moreover, contributing to the present happenings are factors like the interpretation and acceptance of the 1915 Twenty-One Demands over which China and Japan have never agreed; the constant factions and revolutions within the Chinese Empire; the anti-Japanese movement and the boycott of Japanese goods; the overthrow of the Liberal Government in Japan. Mr. Sokolsky is of the opinion, an opinion sometimes stated by Japanese representatives, that Japan is not anxious to colonize Manchuria or to annex more territory; what she requires is a free and uninterrupted opportunity to exploit the economic wealth of the country, a land in which she has already large commercial interests. He offers no solution of the present trouble and suggests no remedy. Indeed, so complicated is the situation due to Treaty Rights, extraterritoriality, commercial requirements, the 'stakes' of the different nations, that a permanent solution, in harmony with past commitments, appears almost impossible. One thing is clear, the Sino-Japanese conflict is grounded on economic considerations and such considerations

appear to be a long way from being settled. Mr. Sokolsky, who is an American, is not enamoured of the action of the League of Nations in the Manchurian trouble. That the League succeeded in appointing a Commission to consider the matter on the spot earns it a little credit. But if the League emerges from the Far East relationship with added prestige it will cause Mr. Sokolsky some surprise. He is persuaded that the framework and principles of the League are not suited to Asia but to Europe alone. Its concern mainly for boundaries and frontiers is largely unrelated to the situation in Manchoukuo where economic considerations are paramount. Along this line, a special word is spoken to America; a word of warning and advice. This book ought to be read by all who are interested in the Far East. Mr. Sokolsky makes the book almost as exciting as must have been the events he now records. Moreover, he moves easily among the facts. The book contains sketch-maps, a lengthy bibliography and a valuable index.

T. W. BEVAN.

*History of Germany.* By Hermann Pinnow. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

In this well written (and well translated) book Herr Pinnow has surveyed the history of Germany from somewhat the same point of view as that of John Richard Green in his *Short History of the English People*, and he has done it uncommonly well. He divides it into four periods—the empire of the Kaisers up to 1200; the townfolk, to 1500; the Principality from 1500 to 1800; and the last period he calls 'The Citizens and their Empire.' The book was published in Germany before the advent of the Nazi regime, and it has a pathetic significance. Herr Pinnow is an idealist and obviously wrote his book as a story with a fitting climax. The 'history of the German people' leads up to the Weimar Assembly of 1919 in which the whole people attempt 'to build up their empire anew on a foundation of liberty and justice, to serve the cause of peace at home and abroad, and to further the progress of the community.' Since those words were written Hitler has done his best to nullify that ideal. It is certain that this book would not have been allowed publication in the present state of Germany—the treatment of Frederick the Great alone would make it anathema to the Nazis—but this fact makes it all the more valuable and we hope that in these days, when Germany has so obviously taken the wrong turning, Herr Pinnow's excellent book will be read by English people who wish to know the 'real' Germany.

A. VICTOR MURRAY.

*The Christian Renaissance.* By G. Wilson Knight. (Macmillan & Co. 12s. 6d.)

Professor Knight of Toronto here relates the work of Shakespeare, Dante and Goethe to the Bible and the dogmas of Christianity. These

great poets are prophets of the modern world, but the New Testament presents the most consummate vision of any. Professor Knight sets himself to reveal the relation of poetry to Christianity and to bring out certain riches in both that are generally neglected. The greatest prophets, like the greatest poets, see the world as a reflection of the pattern in their own souls. 'Hence their tremendous assurance and Jesu's assertion that the great God is a God of Love.' Jesus is the eternal prototype of sympathy. 'He has no rival in respect of creative response from future generations.' The writer prefers to talk not of the Virgin Birth but of the Divine or Sacred Birth which would suggest the divinity of birth and creation generally. The Incarnation of the Logos is our supreme life-vision. The Gospels announce a marriage of heaven and earth. We must see Jesus in the light of the whole New Testament which expresses His relation to the present and future world of men. 'There is no other book like it in the world. Nowhere else do art and history so combine to create a thing unique.' The book is a living reality. Professor Knight regards the Church as the body to a dream once lived in Judæa; and we neglect the vital world-sources at our peril. 'Jesus, as Carlyle tells us, is the greatest of all poets.' This is a book with a new and a vast outlook.

*The Practical Wisdom of Goethe.* An Anthology chosen by  
Emil Ludwig. (Allen & Unwin. 6s.)

This choice anthology leaves out nearly all Goethe's writing on Art and Nature, but gathers together for the first time and from all sources his practical wisdom, his idealism of daily life. Herr Ludwig keeps out of sight Goethe's personal experiences; his aim has been to open up a hidden store of riches for the youth of Germany. He divides the sayings into two sections of twelve chapters—Personality and The World. Goethe's eyes are fixed on actual fact, real relationships, the mass of everyday people. That gives the counsels special value for our own generation. The note is struck in the opening section on character:

Every life is worth the living  
While a man's his own.  
We can lose all other treasures  
Save this one alone.

There is true wisdom in another word:

To soothe the longing for something far away  
Busy yourself with some fine deed to-day;

and in the advice 'Whoever wants to do something for the world must keep clear of it.' The section headed 'Europe' has some acute estimates of national character and its sane outlook appears in 'A Frenchman is a human being from head to foot, just as much as a German.' The two translators have given us a first rate version of the maxims.

*Evangelical Influence in English Life.* By James Theodore Inskip, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 5s.)

The Bishop of Barking delivered these Golden Lectures in St. Margaret, Lothbury, in 1932-3. He holds that the Evangelicals interpret and represent the Church of England as a Reformed Church more nearly than does any other school. Dr. Inskip first surveys Religious Movements in England from the Reformation to the Evangelical Revival and the Oxford Movement. He takes sympathetic note of the Union of Methodism and of the Group Movement which has brought the throb of new life, love, and zeal through its house-parties and other propagandist methods. The bishop has never been a party man but has willingly acted with all parties. He brings out the Evangelical Message, with its recognition of the primacy of the Cross, which brings man and God together. Inspiration, the Church and the Ministry, and the Sacraments are considered in a broad and catholic spirit. Wycliffe is the subject of one lecture and others discuss the Reformation, Religion in England in the Seventeenth Century, the Evangelical Revival, the Abolition of Slavery and Missionary Work Overseas. The foundation of the Holy Club in 1729 is regarded as the birth of the Evangelical Revival. The influence of that Revival 'beginning within the Church of England spread abroad its bounds and drew its disciples into fellowship with members of the Church of Christ who were attached to religious bodies other than the Church of England.' The lectures are of living interest and breathe a truly catholic spirit.

*The Tragedy of Tolstoy.* By Countess Alexandra Tolstoy. Translated by Elena Varneck. (Allen & Unwin. 15s.) The diaries of Tolstoy's wife have led his daughter to write this account of the last years of her parents. She was the only one of the children who stayed with them during their last years, and she alone could tell the painful story. She says that her mother was always afraid that she would be accused of having been a bad wife and trying to justify herself, she involuntarily made accusations against father. Her daughter noted 'a great change in mother after father died. She suddenly became a mild, gentle old woman. She sat for hours, dozing in a big armchair, and woke up only when someone mentioned father's name. She would sigh and begin speaking about how sorry she was for having made him suffer. "I really think I was insane," she said.' When she was dying she told her daughters, 'I know that I was the cause of your father's death. I repented deeply. But I loved him all my life long and I was always a faithful wife to him.' The Countess Alexandra gives a pleasing picture of her father's home life and the happy little excursions which she took with him as a child. We see the elder sister, Masha, who was closer to her father in spirit and outlook than any of the children, and the little brother, Vanichba, who overflowed with kindness and whose early death was a bitter sorrow. Tolstoy would come out of his study after work that satisfied him, with a light step, a merry face, and laughing eyes. He invented interesting

outings when he was in good humour, and was generally the first of the family to bring home the spring flowers. The home life and the stream of visitors are vividly described. During her father's last years Alexandra found it hard to leave him, even for a few days, but he was not pleased that she spent her money recklessly. It pained him to know that she had bought land without knowing exactly what she wanted it for, and kept horses which were the chief fascination of her life. Her mother's conduct towards Tolstoy seemed due to mental affliction which made her torment him with her jealousies. It led him at last to leave home. His daughter joined him in his retreat and watched over him in his last illness and at his death on November 7, 1910. It is a moving record and makes us understand and sympathize with Tolstoy's position—and his domestic difficulties. To his daughter he is certainly an heroic and lovable figure.

*Henry Fielding. Novelist and Magistrate.* By B. M. Jones, M.A., LL.B. (Allen and Unwin. 8s. 6d.)

For more than a century after Fielding's death tribute was paid to his novels, whilst he was described as a genius who spent most of his time in dissipation. Mr. Jones here shows, as the result of much legal research, that his accurate knowledge of the law is manifest in his writings which provide a commentary on the state of the law and legal procedure in his day. Whilst at the Bar he wrote all but one of his novels and edited three successful newspapers. In 1749 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace at Westminster. The licentiousness of the times seems incredible. The poorer classes indulged in open violence, robbery and murder. The Mohocks established a reign of terror and the peace officers were powerless to prevent their excesses. Fielding was regarded as the one magistrate to whom the public could confidently look for protection and redress. He formed a force of detectives to deal with individual felons and break up the nests and retreats of criminals. He also sought to awaken the public conscience to the need of removing the causes which led men to crime. His notable address to the Grand Jury in 1749 is described at length, and details are given of the breaking-up of a gang of gamblers in the Strand, of the destruction wrought by drunkenness and the scandal of public executions. Fielding made Bow Street the most important stipendiary office, and none of its holders has been more remarkable or more serviceable to the community. Mr. Jones has given us a book which throws lurid light on London life in the eighteenth century and does justice to a wise and zealous reformer of morals.

*A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England.* By G. R. Balleine, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 3s. 6d.)

This reprint of the third edition of Mr. Balleine's book comes at a moment when it is of special importance. It traces the history of English Evangelical Churchmen from the time of the Wesleys at Oxford, to the close of the last century. The Chronological Table is



valuable and the spirit of the book is catholic and strongly evangelical. We wish he had not perpetuated his description of Wesley's reference to those who made no reply to his letter of 1769 as 'Wesley's Sneer.'

*The Church of England and the Holy See* Tractate III, *What do the General Councils Say?* is by Dr. Herbert Scott. The seven Councils of Nicæa (2), Constantinople (3), Ephesus, and Chalcedon are studied with a view to exposing the place and functions that the Papacy held in them. Tractate V, by the Rev. Spencer Jones, answers the question: 'What does the XVI Century Say?' It dwells chiefly with the divorce of Katherine and with Cardinal Pole as the personification of Catholic Reform. Mr. Jones holds that Keble, in 1833, was resuming what Fisher had begun in 1533, 'with the distinction only, that Keble was allowed to keep his head, whereas Fisher had to lose it.' No. VI, by Rev. L. F. Simmonds inquires, 'What do English Divines Say?' as to reunion before the Civil War and down to the Oxford Movement. Bramhall's list of the Papal powers which the Church of England does not acknowledge is given. It says nothing against the primary or spiritual supremacy of the Pope. The desire for unity is manifest but there is little in the Roman attitude to justify or encourage it. Tractate VII, *What do the Tractarians say?* The Rev. Spencer Jones describes the Declaration of War on Liberalism. He quotes a letter in which Keble says 'I admire Alexander Knox very much in some respects. . . but I cannot admit his symbolizing with Methodists to beat all Catholic . . . and Mr. Knox's admiration for Wesley and Co. was founded first on his own private personal interpretation of Church history.' Is there anything, Mr. Jones asks, 'in Scripture or in the Prayer Book to block the way of Catholic advance to a recognition of the Primacy *de jure divino*, for which now, for some time past, our scholars, and among them especially the late Dr. Cuthbert Turner, have been paving the way'? That will show where the Tractarian Movement leads. Tractate VIII. *What are we to say?* concludes the series which is published by Talbot & Co.

*A Satchel Guide to Europe.* By W. Day Crockett and Sarah G. Crockett. (Allen & Unwin. 21s.) This is a fifty-second edition thoroughly revised by Mrs. Crockett since the death of her husband. It has forty or fifty pages of new matter on Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, each of which countries now has a full section to itself. The chapters on Germany have been revised and enlarged and the Introduction is brought up-to-date with special references to motoring in Europe. It is a great advantage to have such a compact, well printed and reliable guide to slip into a satchel, and its railway maps and plans are just what a tourist needs.

## GENERAL

*Psychology in Court.* By a Doctor. (Williams & Norgate. 5s.)

The solicitor who writes the Introduction to his friend's book helps us to understand the opportunities which a doctor, who served for nine years on the council of a large industrial town and then became a magistrate, has had for studying the county court and police court, with their witnesses and the cases with which they have to deal. The point of view of the man or woman in the dock is considered, and many instances show that a police court is like the casualty department of a hospital; a place where first aid is administered, and minor ills are dealt with. Vast numbers are in prison 'because their minds have become warped and consequently their conduct has become unusual. Very many of them are mental invalids of one sort and another. Prison life is an odd form of treatment for a mental invalid.' Mental injury, neurosis, fear and other subjects are handled with sympathy and discernment, and in a way that will open the eyes of many to the need of wise and patient investigation of individual cases. The doctor's outlook is both humane and broad-minded.

*The Religious Foundations of Internationalism.* A Study in International Relations through the Ages. By Professor Norman Bentwich. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

There is a popular opinion that the Old Testament is full of the spirit of war. No reader of the laws there (especially Deuteronomy) or the prophets could agree to this. The laws contain many modifications of the horrors of war as practised in those far-off times; and the prophets have spoken the noblest words ever uttered on behalf of peace. It was therefore appropriate that these lectures, which claim that the religions of the world should form a League in support of world peace, should have been delivered at Jerusalem, in the new Hebrew University there. For it is from that 'mountain of the house of the Lord' that Professor Bentwich surveys the influence of all the greater religions of the world as far as they have made for peace, and more especially the rise of international ideas in Christendom. All religions, as he holds, must be in their essence pacific; but we have to apply to religion, unfortunately, the principle that Francis Bacon found in knowledge in general; a little knowledge, he said in a famous sentence, may incline men to atheism; a larger knowledge will turn them to faith. Imperfect or dimly understood religion has made men nationalists, as devoted to their own country as hostile to all others. A truer conception of religion (such as now appears to be dawning in them all) will draw them to one another in peace and good-will. It is from jurists like Grotius and philosophers like

Immanuel Kant that large ideas of world peace have been struck out in the past. Surely in the future, religious leaders must play their part. Religion is now being tested, perhaps as never before; how will she stand the test? The author quotes Professor Toynbee—'the spirit of world citizenship is the spirit of world religion'; words which he aptly couples with the ancient prophecy of Ezekiel, a 'new heart will I give you and a new spirit will I put within you,' and he sets beside these a sentence of P. H. Kerr: 'if he will not make peace, man has strength enough by his mastery over the powers of nature for internecine extermination.' The book deserves to be pondered over by all who would prevent 'the next war.'

*The Modern State.* Edited by Mary Adams. (Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d.)

This volume of broadcast talks, edited by Mary Adams, aims to interpret the development of nineteenth-century thought as illustrated by the rapid political and social changes since 1900. The question 'Can Democracy Survive?' is discussed by Leonard Woolf and Lord Eustace Percy. The former sees in Democracy an ideal which can be applied equally to the relations between individuals within a single country and to the relations between peoples inhabiting different countries. He therefore pleads for the rest of the British Empire the recognition of principles already accepted in the case of the Self-Governing Dominions. In this problem he sees also, on a still larger scale, the problem of the League of Nations. Lord Percy reminds us that the sharp distinctions between the classes are rapidly disappearing and that all alike may be compelled ultimately to depend on their own exertions and skill. He thinks, too, that relentless economic facts are driving us back to the neglected garden. He claims to be an Imperialist as well as a Little Englander and stresses the need of supernatural religion as an alternative to the burning idealism of Russian Communism. Under 'Social Institutions' Mrs. Sidney Webb diagnoses 'The Diseases of Modern Society,' and Professor W. G. S. Adams deals with the question, 'Has Parliamentary Government Failed?' Mrs. Sidney Webb defines the Capitalist System as 'the particular stage in the development of industry in which the bulk of the workers find themselves driven to work at wages for the owners of the instruments of production whether land or capital.' She holds that while the Trade Union Movement has its own very serious drawbacks and diseases it has nevertheless raised the standard of life of the worker, enlarged his personal freedom, and increased his dignity and self-respect. She regards 'planlessness'—the most fatal disease of capitalism—as the fundamental cause of twenty million workers being unemployed through no fault of their own, in the most perfectly developed Capitalist countries. Professor Adams would reform our Parliamentary system by relieving the Parliament at Westminster of the domestic affairs of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. He thinks, too, that Parliament should also

set up an Economic Council or Parliament of Industry to which its powers of legislation and administration in economic affairs should be delegated. As a further improvement he also recommends the development of Committees. He is by no means a pessimist. He recognizes that modern conditions necessitate the improvement and development of our parliamentary system and that opportunities can be made of our difficulties: 'a pessimist is one who makes a difficulty of an opportunity; an optimist is one who makes an opportunity of a difficulty.' Problems of 'World Government' are discussed by Sir Arthur Salter who believes that the entire character of international discussion will be changed if during the next twenty-five years we can but successfully eliminate the causes of war. National rivalries and ambitions are likely to continue, but Sir Arthur considers they will be more and more like the rivalries and ambitions between two countries or two states in a single country. He is convinced that the general standard of living can be increased beyond all present imagining if, in a world purged of war and the fear of war, full scope is found in free and secure world markets aided by a single stable currency on a perfected credit system. The book is timely. The problems examined are tested by the highest ethical and economic standards.

B. AQUILA BARBER.

*Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Pierce.* Edited by Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss. Vol. 3 Exact Logic. (Harvard University Press. \$5.)

Pierce was perhaps the most outstanding philosopher America has produced. William James was better known, but the initial idea that led to the formulation of the idea of pragmatism was directly due to Pierce. Much of Pierce's work was of a character that made no popular appeal, which explains why his name has been so largely forgotten. The present volume, the third of the series, is entirely representative of the lesser known side of his work, as it will be understood only by those who are specialists in the mathematical and symbolic side of logic. The editors, realizing this, have inserted a list of topics of more general interest with which the book is interspersed, so that the less expert reader may browse on some small herbage in what must be perforce scanty pasturage. It is not possible to suggest that the present volume has anything like the general interest of the first, or even of the second, which dealt with the elements of logic. It is purely a specialist's book, such as only a university press could be persuaded to issue, but none the less one is grateful for their so doing, and the book is certainly necessary to the complete presentation of Pierce's thought. It is not a book that will be bought by the ordinary reader, but is for the libraries of colleges and universities, and those few whose studies have brought them to an interest in the mathematical aspect of logic. That it should be available for them is all to the credit of the Harvard Press, and when the size of the book is considered, the price is a marvel of cheapness.

ERIC WATERHOUSE.

*Democracy in Crisis.* By Harold J. Laski. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

'Englishmen do not like to discuss first principles,' says Professor Harold Laski; whether that is true or not, the discussion of democracy which is here presented will be of value to every reader. It is not however democracy as such, but what the author calls 'capitalistic democracy' with which he is here concerned; that is, the democracy of this country, where equality, as he claims, is the aim and the ideal, but where the rights of property are regarded as sacred. How long, the book asks, can such a democracy hope to survive a coming attack by socialism? It is unfortunate that no clear conception of socialism is put forward; but it seems to be generally identified with what may be supposed to be the measures that would be put forward by a Labour government, if it came into power as well as into existence. In other words, the author discusses gravely the chances of a revolution. He points out that the condition of things in the country is similar to 'those features which, in previous epochs, have signalized the onset of a revolutionary period.' The possessing classes, however, might submit to the 'erosion' of their privileges; or those who might hope to gain from a revolution might deem the losses and risks too serious for the attempt to be made. The more valuable part of the book is not its prophecy; but its analysis of the far-reaching influence of wealth in a democratic but (as Professor Tawney has called it) an 'acquisitive' society like our own, in the law courts as well as in parliament and in the services; of the sections of society to which what may be called liberty is yielded or denied; and of the limits of the efficiency of parliamentary government. In its psychological methods it recalls Professor Graham Wallas's *The Great Society*, to which it once makes a reference. The author might well have made more references to history; but his modern instances are numerous and telling; and the book is written with all the vigour, wide knowledge and keen insight that readers of Professor Laski's other works know and admire.

*Foundations of the Philosophy of Value: An Examination of the Value and Value Theories.* By H. Osborne. (Cambridge University Press. 8s. 6d.)

If this is, as it would seem, a first book, Mr. Osborne has made a capital beginning. He has not yet reached, and may he never reach, the stage when his words express only half his thoughts, and leave the unhappy reader struggling to supply the other half. The style is clear, and if Mr. Osborne does not always prove his case, he never fails to state it clearly. Most of the book is given to an examination of the theories of value, which are classified according to the general theory of reality that accompanies them, which seems a good arrangement. Thus Mr. Osborne begins with naturalistic and non-naturalistic theories, which raises the metaphysical issues between them. The non-naturalistic are subdivided into Idealistic or relational, and Realistic or non-relational. After a long and careful criticism, Mr.



Osborne dismisses Realism and passes to the exposition and application of Idealism. One wishes Mr. Osborne was less fond of talking about 'instinctive' beliefs and convictions, without defining what he means by 'instinctive.' A more question-begging term is hard to find. Moreover, one gains the impression that the words about Idealistic theories of value having 'suffered more than other theories by incompetent exposition and by a frequent association with Theism and other speculative theories' indicate a faulty apprehension of the fact that any non-naturalistic theory of value that is not associated with Theism must be a singularly slender speculation, and the main weakness of Mr. Osborne's exposition is that it hangs upon nothing more than his own assumptions concerning the nature of value. There is a certain abstractness in the treatment that leaves something to be desired. Yet when all has been said, it does not alter the first impression that this is a careful and useful study, though one may wish Mr. Osborne had avoided such words as 'discutants,' who discuss, and 'disvaluable,' a term which certainly describes itself.

*Evolution and Redemption.* By H. P. Newsholme, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P., B.Sc. (Williams & Norgate. 8s. 6d.)

Such versatility as Dr. Newsholme's is rare. It is indicated not only by his degrees, but by the fact that he is Medical Officer of Health for Birmingham; County Medical Officer of Health for the North Riding of Yorkshire; and Lecturer on Public Health in the University of London. The present volume is a sequel to an earlier one: *Health, Disease and Integration* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.) The postulates of both volumes are that 'an integrated view of the health and activities of the individual must take count of his non-physical as well as of his physical nature; that the purpose of that physical nature is to express the spiritual forces underlying it; and hence that we can scarcely overstress the importance of freedom of expression of the spiritual faculties and the equally vital need for recognition and for removal of the evil element which obstructs their expression.' Dr. Newsholme is concerned because the man in the street still has his mind coloured by the earlier view of the mechanism of evolution, whereas the man of science is swinging away from his former dogmatism. The public are now reaping a harvest of an ethic of social and individual life based on an out-of-date view of evolution, a view in which God has been shifted into the background because He is supposed to be unable or unwilling to intervene in the process of evolution. This book seeks to correct that view. It is admitted that evolution is based on variations, but these depend on effort by the individual. There are two types of effort: in the direction of self-satisfaction and in the direction of self-forgetfulness. The latter implies an act of the whole personality, and is therefore calculated to make a more fundamental variation than effort which is self-centred. The effort of the whole personality is due to an immanent divine element, which element is derived from a transcendent Deity. It is

when personal effort coincides with the inner divine urge that the variations are most deeply cut which tend to an upward evolution. The consequences of such deductions bring God out of the remote background into the very forefront of evolution, and they emphasize the dignity of the individual and the essential value of personal effort.

There is an inertia in matter and in man which obstructs evolution. Disease, death and sin are varying manifestations of this inertia. Man always drops in the scale of evolution when he develops the inertia which prevents the emergence of his intellectual or emotional nature, and through them of his spiritual essence. It is claimed that the inertia of matter is itself evidence of a Fall. According to Dr. News-holme there is nothing inanimate; matter has a content of soul. Probably matter was originally different in quality from what it is now; it seems to have fallen from its original estate into matter as we know it. But it is now in the process of lifting itself by the progressive evolution which thus far has attained the stage of man. There has been a Fall, a restoration was needed, Christ was the Rescuer. By His crucifixion Christ gained the victory over sin, but there was still needed a victory over the burden of the flesh, over the intrinsic inertia of matter. Christ's resurrection is evidence of this victory, for His resurrection-body was capable of action in ways quite other than 'natural.' As spirit is one everywhere, it is possible to claim that a new level in evolution had been attained by Christ. He began man's upward climb again.

The writer reviews a number of general social and religious problems. He is particularly interesting in his treatment of certain incidents in the Gospels which the modernist often regards as contrary to science. This is not a 'Fundamentalist' book, but it does seek to give credence to the historicity of many incidents which the modernist finds difficult to accept. The book deserves careful reading. It is well written, is illustrated by diagrams, and it has the merit of breaking new ground.

W. R. CHAPMAN.

*A Critical History of Modern Aesthetics.* By the Earl of Listowel. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

This is a thesis approved for the University of London Doctor of Philosophy Degree. Its purpose is to carry on the work of Bernard Bosanquet in his monumental *History of Aesthetic*. The first part is descriptive. The historical theories of aesthetics, both subjective and objective, are passed in review. In the second part these are subjected to criticism, necessarily with some further exposition, and the way is cleared for reference to minor arts, a chapter on origins, a discussion on some categories—the sublime, the tragic, the comic, the beautiful, the ugly—followed by a brief conclusion in which the characteristic and outstanding feature of the beautiful is defined as 'a disinterested and harmonious contemplation of the form and content of individual objects.' The division between subjective and objective is bridged

by attributing beauty to the universe 'at the actual moment of creative activity or appreciative delight.' The beauty resides in the subject, not in the object. The values that make for spiritual perfection are never lost sight of, but it would seem that the Pantheism of Spinoza and Russell is the only refuge for man. The latter's description of man's precarious position in an openly unfriendly universe is hailed 'with glad acceptance and whole-hearted resignation' rather than with rebellious discontent. The author's position is made clear in his statement that 'the realm of life is only a province in the immense empire of inorganic nature, and here we can detect no trace of a dominating purpose favourable to man, or of a scheme of things in which he figures as the hero.' The expert psychologist will be best able to appraise this book, but it will repay reading by those who are not experts. The long exposition and examination of the theory of *Einfühlung*—a vindication of the 'romantic conception of beauty as the expression of life and personality in the objects of art and nature'—will open new vistas upon life for many. With reference to origins, the author refuses to find in the embryonic art of the child the recapitulation of the art of savage peoples, nor does he regard the comparatively unprogressive peoples of to-day as interpretative of 'those Stone and Metal Age peoples from whose vigorous youth civilization sprang.' 'The moment men were released from the vulgar toil of preserving and producing their kind, in the first respite from the bare struggle for existence, the latent germs burst into flower and man became something higher and nobler than the other animals.' A book written out of fullness of knowledge with fascinating craftsmanship.

J. C. MANTRIPP.

*The Book of the Gradual Sayings.* Translated by F. L. Woodward, M.A., with an Introduction by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A. (Oxford University Press. 2 vols. 10s. each.)

These volumes are published for the Pali Text Society which has been fortunate in securing the man most fitted for the task of translation, and Mrs. Davids feels that he had coped with its difficulties as no one else could have done. She has chosen the title—*Anguttara-Nikāya*. *Anga* is part or factor, *uttara* further or progressive is not a wieldy compound, but Swinburne's line—

With sudden feet that graze the gradual sea,

came to the rescue and hence the 'Gradual Sayings.' Certain renderings chosen by Mr. Woodward are discussed and Mrs. Davids hopes that historic imagination will some day get to work on the Pitakas and help us to picture the great Eisteddfod at Patra about 250 B.C. 'It was a *bookless* world there; moreover no expert in one group of sayings *knew much about other groups*.' A learned member of the Revising Council given the task of Standardizing the Sayings in

the three Nipatas, from the varying versions brought by repeaters from different Settlements, would be glad to preserve those sayings with which he was in sympathy. 'Monks were very human then as now. The rest of the revisers might not be aware of what he was approving. But he would see to it that the repeater of these Sayings, returned to their various Settlements well primed with the Standard version made such by his authority.' The first volume gives the Book of the One, Two, Threes. The 'Fully Enlightened One' addresses the monks on the attraction between men and women and the way to abandon hindrances. The Fully Enlightened One is born for the happiness of many; descriptions are given of the chief men and women disciples and the whole life of the Community is shown. The second volume is the Book of the Fourth Nikāya of the Pali Canon. The doctrines emphasized are those of the monk. The Rudalist System is here well on the way, though its early medieval culmination is not yet on the stage. Mrs. Davids' Introduction is a valuable guide to the significance of the Suttas. There are five sets of fifty each which deal with the bliss of debtlessness, and blamelessness, with effort, concentration, amity, training and all the things that concern the life of a Buddhist. It has been a heavy task for the translator but it throws a flood of light on the whole subject of Buddhism and makes us understand how Mrs. Rhys Davids has entered into the spirit of its canon.

*From Chaos to Control.* By Norman Angell. (Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d.)

This volume contains expanded notes of the Halley Stewart Lecture 1932. The previous Lecture dealt with the World's Economic Crisis and the Way of Escape. Sir Norman Angell here deals with 'the psychology of popular understanding, of the nature of the public mind in relation to the technical problems discussed by last year's lecturers.' The economic chaos is due to a failure by the great mass of the public to grasp the very few but important truths upon which all the economic experts are agreed. For instance, it took Europe fifteen years to grasp the truth about Reparations, and American public opinion has not yet grasped the truth about debts. Sir Norman is confident that there is a way of escape from the chaos, but the problem is to enable the millions to see that it is the way of escape. Rarely can certain sections of the Press have received such a drubbing as is given in this book. Nevertheless, the public gets the Press it deserves; editors give the public what it wants. A good word is said about a plan of Lord Northcliffe's, viz. to place *The Times* under a National Committee like that which is responsible for the British Museum, and put it up to them to give the public all sides of the questions of public policy. The plan was never carried into effect, but it could be with advantage—not only with *The Times*. The concluding pages deal with the possibilities of school education. Possibly the schools alone are able to make our millions aware that it

is impossible to know the truth unless we are prepared to hear both sides. A revision of educational values is alone the starting point on the road to control. The book is easy to read, and worth reading.

*An Anthology of Haiku, Ancient and Modern.* Translated and Annotated by Asataro Miyamori. (Tokyo: Maruzen Co.)

Haiku is the name given to Japanese poems of three lines or seventeen syllables. Seven or eight, or at the most, ten words, are used in such poems. They embody a peculiar form of concentrated wit, too short and rather too stiff to sing. The first poem quoted:

Upon the temple bell  
A butterfly is sleeping well,

illustrates the brevity and pregnancy of such a verse. It is a suggestion for a picture or a title for one. The belfry, the bell, and the butterfly are all represented. 975 of these gems are cited with translation and explanation. There are eighteen beautiful illustrations by Mr. Hirafuku, a noted contemporary painter, and many other drawings of great interest. The author's Introduction gives a brief history of this type of Japanese poetry and of four noted masters of the craft. The stately volume is a thoroughly revised and considerably enlarged edition of that issued in 1930 for Japanese students of English, and is intended principally for foreign readers who have no knowledge of Japanese literature. The original printed Japanese and Roman characters will be of service to those who already have some knowledge of Japanese. The greater part of the Anthology is concerned with Nature themes such as the cherry and plum blossoms, the maple leaf, the harvest moon, snow, the nightingale, cuckoo, skylark, butterfly, firefly and cicada. It is a real picture of the mind of a fascinating people.

*Chimes from Leighton's Church Tower.* By the Rev. K. K. Hallowes (Methuen. 5s.)

In the year when the memory of George Herbert is being honoured throughout the land, it is useful to be reminded though he closed his days as Vicar of Bemerton, at an earlier date he had been Prebendary of the parish of Leighton-Bromswold in Huntingdonshire—then in the diocese of Lincoln. He was not a vicar of the parish, but an occasional visitor and preacher in this beautiful church, where once Dr. Adam Clarke, as he passed on his travels, was reminded of 'that blessed man of God, Mr. Herbert, author of the most excellent collection of poems.' It was George Herbert who introduced into it two pulpits at the points where the north and south transepts meet the nave, the southern one to be used for the prayers and the northern one for the sermon, his wish being that 'prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren and have *equal honour*' . . . These interesting details are supplied by the present vicar, Rev. K. K. Hallowes, in the preface to a little volume of poems 'to inspire the higher religious life,' the above title being suggested by the five bells which have been rung for generations from the tower of this famous



church which is set on a hill. The poems themselves are not entirely concerned with the local associations of the parish but take a much wider range, being entitled 'A Moslem Graveyard in South India,' and others, 'A Sabbath Evening, Hawkshead,' 'Ely Cathedral' and 'King's College Chapel, Cambridge.' The latter suffer by comparison with Wordsworth's famous sonnet, but the spirit of the volume is that of a devout, contemplative lover of the Church and the spiritual realities of which she is the constant witness. The poems will be a reminder of what the country owes to its beautiful old village churches.

R. MARTIN POPE.

*Selected Poems of Eva Gore-Booth*, with a Biographical Note by Esther Roper and a Portrait. (Longmans & Co. 3s. 6d.)

Miss Roper met her at Bordighera and their work together among the Lancashire women led to a wonderful quickening of interest in the enfranchisement of women. Her most characteristic Irish poems were written in Manchester. 'The Street Orator' is a picture of her open-air work at Clitheroe. Illness made it imperative for her to leave the North and the two friends settled in London, where the poetess died in June, 1926. She never submitted to an invalid's life and in the January before her death wrote:

I am alive, alive, alive,  
High tide and sunrise in my mind.

Her poetry is the reflection of a gifted and loving nature. She was a mystic artist, a true poet and a brave, loving woman. Her poetry touches deep chords and makes one dream of beautiful things and seek to turn the dreams into realities. We are much indebted to Miss Roper for the account of her friend and the happy selection of her verse.

*Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur.* By C. J. Gadd. (H. Milford. 2s. 6d.)

The Proceedings of the British Academy have given us this study, which shows that seven seals and one imprint of the Indus style have come from Mesopotamian sites, including Susa, and two others almost certainly from Babylonia. A considerable addition to this number has been made at Ur. These are illustrated and described in detail with the figures on them and the evidence of date which they furnish. The astral character of certain devices is clear. One cylinder-seal shows the humped bull, the scorpion, and above them a curiously sprawling figure of a man with a star for his head and two small serpents. There is much yet to be learned and this paper shows how interesting the study is becoming.

*The Supernormal.* By G. C. Barnard, M.Sc. (Rider & Co. 7s. 6d.)

This critical introduction to Psychic Science examines and interprets the findings of Psychical Research. The author naturally respects

the observations of such men as Zollner, Sir O. Lodge, Dr. Crawford and others and issues a timely warning against the too-ready acceptance of spurious evidence: 'If the fundamental tenets of Spiritualism are capable of scientific proof, which is greatly to be doubted, it is only through the work of men like these that the proof will be attained, and not through the melodramatic accounts of séances published by laymen.' Mr. Barnard's scientific methods will probably dismay extremists, yet he verifies, marshals and collates much interesting data and conveys a sense of the reality of Psychic phenomena. The first part of the book treats of Science and the Super-normal, Hypnotism, and Personality and the Unconscious Mind; the second part deals with Telekinesis, Materializations, Ideoplasticity, Mediumship and Its Investigation, and Four-Dimensional Physics, while the third and fourth parts discuss Cryptaesthesia, Telepathy, Precognition, Clairvoyance, The Survival of the Personality and Transcendental Consciousness. The book will provoke thought and should induce a more careful sifting of testimonies that can establish no serious claim to be considered authentic evidence.

*Volume the First.* By Jane Austen. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 5s.)

When Mr. Chapman published his edition of the *Memoirs of Jane Austen* the existence of this volume was not known. It is one of three which gather up her writings as a girl of seventeen and shows a noted authoress in the making. She delights in exaggerations and absurdities, in marriages without love. Mrs. Willmot's quiverfull are grotesque, and Emma's disappointment that Edgar has not come with his mother makes her retire to her room where she 'continued in tears the remainder of her life.' The young widow feels rather hungry and has 'reason to think, by their biting off two of her fingers, that her children were much in the same condition.' Mr. Clifford's carriages and horses are legion, and when he gets from Bath to Devizes he determines to comfort himself with a good hot supper and therefore, 'ordered a whole egg to be boiled for him and his servants.' The papers were written to amuse her kinsfolk and their whimsicalities are certainly delicious.

*Current English Usage.* By Sterling Andrus Leonard. English Monographs, Number I. (Chicago: 211 West 68th Street.)

The National Council of Teachers of English issues this monograph as a memorial to Mr. Leonard, who initiated its studies in punctuation and usage. 229 judges took part in the usage section and 144 in that dealing with punctuation. Editors, business men, linguists and teachers, gave their verdict as to such expressions as, 'It is *me*,' 'None *are* expected,' 'Try *and* get well,' 'Had rather.' The results are given with the number of votes. 'Nice people' is approved as cultivated colloquial English; 'a date for next week' seems to have emerged from the level of Slang to that of accepted informal speech; 'John was

raised by his aunt' is United States dialect and 'cannot be said to be a solecism.' That does not 'raise' it above the class 'disputable!' 'Very amused' does not pass muster in good English; though 'experts disagree.' Probably careful speakers will avoid it, but it cannot be called a solecism, nor can its extirpation be made a basic element of school courses in English. The opinions on Punctuation are largely based on clearness and distinction. One magazine votes for as little punctuation as possible, but enough to help the reader 'along the road of an extremely long sentence.' There is certainly much to engage the attention of authors and printers in this monograph.

*Studies in Classic American Literature.* By D. H. Lawrence.  
(Martin Secker. 3s. 6d.)

This is the first cheap edition of the work which appeared in 1924 and makes an important addition to the attractive Adelphi Library. The authors are Benjamin Franklin, St. John de Crèvecoeur, Fenimore Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Dana, Herman Melville and Whitman. Lawrence himself is revealed as clearly in these arresting critiques as the men about whom he writes and the book is a companion to his *Fantasia of the Unconscious*. 'The Spirit of Place' which introduces the eleven studies, pulls the democratic and idealistic clothes off American utterance and finds that the dominant desire to do away with the old masterhood really leads to 'henceforth be mastered.' It is the land of 'thou shalt not presume to be a master. Hence democracy.'

*Human Nature and World Disorder.* By Gabriel Wells. (Henry Sotheran.) The purpose of this 16-page thesis is to elucidate the writer's radio talk: 'If I were Dictator.' He holds that 'the real trouble of the World is that Human Nature is held at a discount.' A boldly conceived and vigorously executed Population Policy should be set in train. 'Capacity' instead of gold should be the standard. Then money would keep in responsive touch with the pulsating realities of everyday life. Mr. Wells believes in Competition but still more in Compensation. He puts his case clearly and forcibly.—*Fumifugium.* By John Evelyn. Was first published in 1661 to show how 'the inconvenience of the aer and smoake of London' might be dissipated. It is now issued by the National Smoke Abatement Society (6d. and 1s. 6d.). With an introduction by Rose Macaulay. Evelyn would have the works and furnaces of brewers, dyers, sope and salt boilers, lime-burners and the like moved five or six miles below London and would have plants and trees grown that would give fragrance to the streets. It is certainly a very interesting 'tract for the times.'—*Leave to Speak.* By a Claims Officer. (Stockwell. 2s. 6d.) Captain Platt here recounts his experiences during the Great War when he was Claims Officer to the Guards Division. Claims up to £5 he was entitled to pay at his own discretion; larger claims had to be reported to the Claims Commission. That meant many strange claims of which graphic accounts are given. The life of camp and hospital, amusements and tragedies all stand out vividly and it is pleasant to read how Woodbine Willie had the art

of speaking to the men in a language which was acceptable to all.—*Salads for Health ; How To Train Your Nerves ; The Safe Way to Sound Nerves ; How to Cure Catarrh and Colds ; How to Cure Indigestion and Stomach Trouble.* By Milton Powell. (The Athletic Publications Ltd. Each 1s. net.) In these five books Milton Powell, F.M.C.A., discusses the various aspects of health. He deals with the far too common ailments of mankind and shows that in most cases the state has been brought about by illogical and self-indulgent modes of living. His teaching however fortunately does not stop here. After explaining the causes he proceeds to set forth a simple and common-sense cure. He is definitely constructive. Milton Powell believes in hope, and if his readers have the strength of mind and observance to carry out his instructions there is no doubt that in writing these books he has done a great service to mankind.—*Jewish Views on Jewish Missions.* This is No. XXXI of 'Papers for Jewish People' published by the Jewish Religious Union. Written by Dr. C. G. Montefiore and Rabbi Martuck. Mr. Perlzweig fears that the inclusion of thousands of heathen might dim or contaminate the purity of Jewish thought and Jewish theism, but Dr. Montefiore asks 'Is not Judaism strong enough to resist such influences?' When it was a missionary religion was its purity greatly injured? He would try to make converts; Dr. Martuck would confine work to education in a civilized outlook and mode of life leaving the conversion to come out of an understanding conviction.—*From a Man's Diary: Life-Songs of Hope and Joy.* By H. J. P. (John Roberts Press. 1s.) The songs have grown out of broken health but they have music and sunshine in them. Faith and hope have given life purpose and the poems will bring strength and comfort to many who are facing 'life on a "prickly" planet.' Here are six lines headed 'Progress':

Faith sees, through tears,  
And, seeing, grasps and knows;  
Hope music hears  
And sings, and onward goes;  
Love, freed from fears,  
Loves more, and richer grows.

*The Secret of the Saints.* By Sir Henry Lunn. (Cambridge: Heffer. 3s.6d.) This is a companion to Sir Henry's choice little devotional manuals—*The Love of Jesus* and *Retreats for the Soul*. Prayer, Meditation, Self-Discipline are the themes and they are enforced by apt quotations from the masters of the Spiritual life. The Teaching of the Saints of all ages thus gives emphasis to Sir Henry's own counsels. The keynote of the book is struck in the opening chapter: 'The Need of an Apostolate of Prayer.' The little volume is a worthy successor to Sir Henry's two earlier books and will enrich the devotional life of all who make it a daily companion.—*Life Quest and Conquest.* By Lionel B. Fletcher. (Marshall, Morgan & Scott. 1s.) These chapters have grown out of Mr. Fletcher's experiences as an evangelist of youth. They show what religion is with many helpful illustrations and point out the way to become a Christian and the price to be

paid for being one in this twentieth century. It is just the book to put into the hands of young folk. They will see the way to the Cross and to Pentecost and will feel persuaded to take it.—*Is Our God Dead?* By H. Ingham James, B.A., B.D., B.Litt. (Arthur H. Stockwell. 2s. 6d.) Here is a volume of eight sermons, well written, aptly illustrated and ably treated; with fresh and timely messages. In them, Mr. James gives evidence of thorough and independent thinking and speaks as one who has discovered truths for himself. So delighted is he in one, at least, of his discoveries—the difference between worshipping a living God and one who has died long ago—that he is not alone content to disclose it in the chapter, 'Is our God Dead?' he refers to it again in 'Serving God with the Mind.' Moreover, there is penetration and illumination in his treatment of such matters as the secret of spiritual insight, the need of the Church, the wisdom of self-forgetfulness and the importance of a big view of Christianity. Preachers will be well rewarded by reading this volume. If there is a lack it is to be found in the way the author sometimes finishes his sermons. They appear, at times, to be rather abrupt and inconclusive.—*Some Ancient Safeguards of Civilization.* By R. Travers Herford, B.A., D.D. (Lindsey Press. 1s.) Dr. Herford has chosen for the Essex Hall Lecture a peculiarly valuable subject, and has treated it in a fresh and interesting way. Many talk about the present situation in the world in a very nervous fashion, and they might attain more steadiness of thought, if they remembered that the world has been going for a long time, and that history has something still to say. Dr. Herford has selected three historical movements (1) The Closing of the Talmud (2) The Consolidation of the Catholic Church (3) The Codification of the Roman Law—all coming between the end of the fourth century and the middle of the sixth century A.D. The point he seeks to illustrate is that in this way civilization was able to survive the storm of the Dark Ages. 'Those great structures of thought had been built up and made strong so that they could, so to speak, ride out the storm and defy the waves which beat against them.' From this historical view he finds a confidence that in this day God will not leave the higher life of His children to die out for ever.—*Let's Start Over Again.* By Vash Young. (Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d.) *A Fortune to Share* has a manly ring about it and so has Mr. Young's new book. It is an antidote to worry, a real stimulus to pluck and hopefulness, and the stories of clouds lifted from discouraged folk act like a tonic. The Society of the Shallow-minded is a quaint device for leaving no gap for fear, worry, discontent or discouragement to find room to get in. Many people would do well to join it.—*Marriage, Children and God.* By Claud Mullins. (Allen & Unwin. 6s.) The writer's judicial experience gives special weight to his discussion of the problems of family life, and the Bishop of Southwark has felt it his duty to do what he can to secure for the book the wide-spread and dispassionate consideration which he believes that it deserves. It is a book which ought to be read by all who are interested in one of the most important problems of the day.



## Periodical Literature

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### BRITISH

**Hibbert Journal** (July).—‘Dr Orchard’s *Passage From Faith to Faith*’ is critically considered by three ministers. The Rev. Henry Gow says his ‘invitations to join the Church of Rome for the sake of the salvation of the world as well as for our own sake is unconvincing and even repellent. He himself, with his deep religious faith and his high courage, wins our respect and sympathy.’ Dr. A. W. Harrison in ‘*Romanticism in Religious Revivals*’ turns first to the Oxford Movement. W. G. Ward makes holiness the chief note of the Church and real holiness could only be found in hardship, sacrificial vigour and celibacy. The deep influence of the Evangelical Revival on English life and character has received tardy recognition. Charles Wesley has never yet received his place among the poets. He counts as one of the pioneers of English Romanticism. The note of rapturous gladness is common among Wesley’s preachers. Dr. Harrison finds in them ‘that quickening of the Spirit that discovers new worlds of beauty, joy and wonder, which may express itself in some artistic or literary form if its attention is directed that way.’ They stand for thousands of common people ‘in the drab rural and provincial life of eighteenth-century England who sang their way in imaginative and enthusiastic hymns into these realms of gold.’ ‘The wisdom of Maria Rilke,’ who died in 1926, is a pleasing introduction to his prose writings which are not only clear and finished in form, but also rich and vital in contents. They are no less the work of an artist than his poetry.

**The Journal of Theological Studies** (April).—Valuable notes on St. Mark’s Gospel, by P. L. Couchond, and on the Sources of his Passion narrative by the Ven. E. R. Buckley will be of special interest to students. There are also notes on *The Mozarabic Kalendar*, *The Exordium Magnum Cisterciene*. Dr. Burkitt describes the *Rockefeller McCormick New Testament*. Vol. II contains a full collation and a study of the text, Vol. I has 124 facsimiles of the beautiful miniatures, Vol. III a study of the iconography. The codex was discovered in a Paris antique shop in 1927, and its date is probably 1270 or thereabouts.

**Expository Times** (June).—Dr. Main finds the real clue to the life and teaching of Athanasius in the fact that he was essentially a religious man; more concerned with the doctrine of salvation than with that of creation. For him Truth was the Divinity of Christ. His teaching had a practical aim, and, in the best sense of the words,

his theology was experimental. (July). Dr. Wright of Didsbury deals with 'The Question of Authority in Religion' which is the final question in the great theological debate of our time. 'The only authority of Christianity is in Christianity itself.' 'Whatever truth is in Church or Book is in the reality which they express or communicate.' This lucid article is followed by Dr. Sparrow Simpson's 'Modern Witnesses to the Value of Authority in Religion.' He cites four, Dr. Martineau, Lord Balfour, Dr. Oman and Elmer More who all agree that authority is indispensable for the individual if he would arrive at possession of religious truth.

**The Church Quarterly** (July).—Dr. Headlam's article, 'What the Church as a whole owes to the Oxford Movement,' reaches the conclusion that it was 'a new movement for the restoration of religion,' revived the idea of corporate religion, restored the ideal of a holy Catholic Church, and the conception of the Catholic faith. It revived the English Church from its lethargy, taught it to take its place in the Christian world, to respond to the needs of the Empire, and fulfil its missionary duties. It made it a leader in the cause of Christian Unity.

**Congregational Quarterly** (July).—Mr. Drake criticizes the South India Scheme from a Non-Anglican point of view. He thinks it offers no solution of the problem of Church union in India. In the event of the northern dioceses of the Anglican Church in India combining with the projected United Church, 'the resultant Church will be predominantly Anglican, even to a degree that will be tantamount to the absorption of its non-Anglican constituents.' 'A Glance Back' by the Rev. H. H. Carlisle, is a pleasing retrospect.

**Cornhill Magazine** (July).—Lord Gorell writes 'From the Editor's Chair.' He takes editorial charge with John Grey Murray as his associate, 'representative both of tradition and of youth.' That augurs well for the future of *Cornhill*. 'The Ladies of the Oxford Movement,' by Winifred Peck, takes us back to a world where 'clergy and country gentry, possessed of a leisure almost unimaginable to us to-day, sat down to educate themselves, their children and their child-wives.' It is an alluring picture! The number is full of good things.

**British Journal of Inebriety** (July).—'Some Unusual Forms of Drug Addiction' by Dr. E. W. Adams. The average drug addict aims to make reality less real, and the paper considers the employment of unusual methods and unusual substances in a way that will help all who are concerned in this important subject.

### AMERICAN

**Harvard Theological Review**.—Professor Henry A. Sanders of the University of Michigan contributes to the April number an article

on *The Egyptian Test of the Four Gospels and Acts*. He classifies the various papyri fragments, his purpose being to discover when and to what extent the so-called Alexandrian text appears in them. Each of the Gospels and the Acts are taken up separately, and the different types of text are discussed. For example, the text of Matthew is said to be 'adequately explained on the assumption of an original Western text gradually corrected to the Alexandrian type.' Dr. Erwin R. Goodenough, of Yale University, gives the results of his study of *Philo's Exposition of the Law*, and his *De Vita Mosis*. He concludes that the *Exposition* was written for Gentiles, and that the *De Vita Mosis* is a companion treatise. Together they furnish 'a body of evidence for the character of Jewish propaganda among Gentiles of much greater importance than has been appreciated.'

**Journal of Religion** (July).—Dean Shailex Mathews writes on 'The Function of the Divinity School.' The conception of the curriculum is changing from the giving of information to a functional task. It is enriched by results of work on the field. 'Personality rather than truth is becoming the centre of our interest,' and the curriculum must deal with personal experience both social and individual. The student must be prepared for his future work of developing the personalities of children and adults.

**Colgate-Rochester Bulletin** (May).—The Alumni week was marked by the first celebration in the new campus. Many saw it and the noble new buildings for the first time. A Centenary Address was given on William Dean, the pioneer Baptist Missionary in China, in 1833.

### FOREIGN

**Calcutta Review** (May).—The Chancellor's address at the Convocation dwelt on the solid advantages that might meet his double role as Governor and Chancellor. His protest against active participation of the students in the political conflicts of to-day was timely. A prominent place is given to a tribute to Sir Walter Scott, and it is refreshing to find a poem on 'Friar's Crag, Derwentwater.' (June).—In 'Pre-Buddhist Hindu Shrines in Ceylon' we read that Jayford, Trincomalie and Batti Cal are the prominent Hindu colonies, yet the Hindus have spread all over the island. They have about two thousand places of worship, mainly dedicated to Ganesh and Kartika, the two sons of Lord Shiva. The writer feels it high time that a Greater Bengal Society should be started to delve into the dark history of ancient Bengal. The article on 'Hindu Prostitution in Bengal' deserves attention.

**The Trinidadian** (March) gives pictures of the Carnival, illustrated articles on 'Buccaneering on the Spanish Main,' on The Caves of the Diablotins, Forest Fauna and other local subjects. It is full of interest for all who wish to know more about the colony.

